A GUIDE
TO THE EXHIBITION OF
ROMAN COINS
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

WITH 8 PLATES
AND
11 FIGURES

Price
Two Shillings
net

LONDON
PRINTED BY ORDER OF
THE TRUSTEES
1927

20221

GUIDE TO THE EXHIBITION OF ROMAN COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

All rights reserved

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/guidetoromancoin0000vari

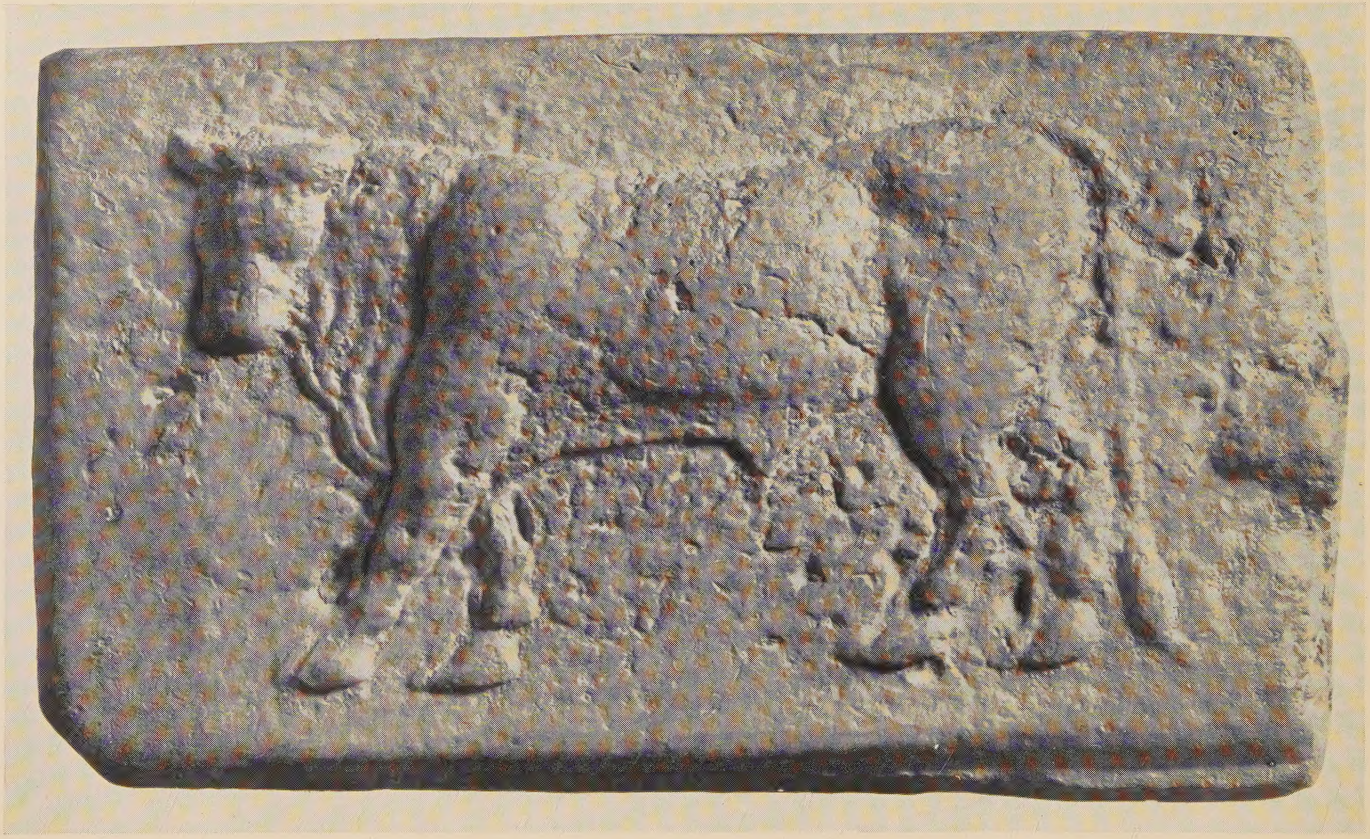


Figure 1 [p. 2]

A GUIDE
TO THE EXHIBITION OF
ROMAN COINS
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

WITH 8 PLATES AND
11 FIGURES

LONDON
PRINTED BY ORDER OF
THE TRUSTEES
1927

Printed in England at the
UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
By John Johnson, Printer to
the University

PREFACE

THIS Guide describes the series of Roman coins exhibited in electrotype in Cases 9 to 16 in the Exhibition Room of the Department of Coins and Medals. Illustrations, which are in all cases of the size of the originals, are given of the more interesting examples. A short bibliography is appended for the use of those who wish to pursue the subject.

The Guide has been written by Mr. Harold Mattingly, Assistant-Keeper in the Department, and I have read the proofs.

GEORGE F. HILL,

Jan. 1927. *Keeper of Coins and Medals.*

CONTENTS

SECTION I. *Case* 9

Aes Grave *p.* 1

SECTION II. *Cases* 10, 11

Gold, Silver, and struck Bronze of the Republic *p.* 8

SECTION III. *Cases* 12–16

The Empire *p.* 39

Bibliography *p.* 81

Index *p.* 83

SECTION I

Case 9

AES GRAVE

THE history of coinage in Italy provides a most valuable index of the development of civilized life in the peninsula. The Greek cities of the South were striking coins within quite a short time of their foundation. So strongly did they impress the Greek stamp on the parts of Italy which they occupied, that they could even claim them by name as 'Magna Graecia'. Etruria, again, strange and independent as her culture was in so many ways, had always a close relationship to the Greek world. So, too, her coinage, though peculiar in style, fabric, and choice of types, is related to the Greek by its early beginning, by its chief metals—gold and silver, and by its standards of weight. With the rest of Italy, the Latin and Oscan tribes of the Centre and South, the Gauls of the North, the case is quite different. The Gauls, the latest and rudest invaders, were naturally the slowest to adopt coinage, and at first only imitated the coins of their southern neighbours. The Italian tribes used no coined money of any kind till a date near B. C. 300, and, when they did begin to coin, coined in bronze, not in either gold or silver. The transition to silver currency coincides with the opening up of more intimate relations with the Greek South. There is a strong suggestion here that in the earlier days there was very little intercourse of states in Italy, except between immediate neighbours. Etruria had a coinage in silver some two hundred years before Rome.

In Case 9 are shown specimens of the earliest bronze coinage of Rome and Italy : the Italian bronze is so closely related to the Roman that it appears inadvisable to separate them. For many centuries, certainly well before B. C. 1000, the Italians knew the use of bronze as a convenient medium of exchange. They did not, however, regulate weights or affix stamps as evidence of quality. They used the metal in a rough form, in lumps of varying weights, forms, and sizes. This 'Aes Rude', as it is called, is frequently found in excavations, not only in Italy, but over a large part of Europe as well : it is in fact a normal feature of the Bronze Age in Europe. The Italian pieces are often rough and shapeless, at other times they have

the form of roundels or bars. This 'Aes Rude' is not, strictly speaking, coinage, and no specimen is shown here. The shaped pieces—in particular the bars—are probably the latest varieties known to us, and when these bars receive types on both sides and approximate, however roughly, to some standard of size and weight, we are very near to real coinage. It is, however, impossible to see, in these bars bearing types, the so-called 'Aes Signatum', an independent stage in development. They are undoubtedly, in the main, later than the 'Aes Rude', and contemporary with the earliest 'Aes Grave'. Their exact use is still unknown. We can only make an intelligent guess. They are to some extent medallic in character, but probably served some definite practical uses, as perhaps, for example, in the legal ceremony of purchase 'per aes et libram'. Of the three bars shown here, No. 2 has as types a bull, the native symbol of Italy, on both obverse and reverse (Fig. 1). No. 1 has an eagle on thunderbolt on obverse and a pegasus on reverse, and is inscribed ROMANO. Both of these two bars seem to be related to certain series of 'Aes Grave' and to belong to a date *circa* B. C. 280. No. 21 is of a simpler and probably an earlier type. It has no ornamentation beyond crescents on obverse and reverse, and has not advanced far beyond the stage of 'Aes Rude'. From the evidence of finds it is assigned to the Etruscan town of Tarquinii (near Corneto).

The 'Aes Grave' is the earliest money of Rome and her Italian neighbours—consisting of cast pieces of bronze, with types on both sides and marks of value, of weights fixed for the mass but varying considerably from piece to piece, representing in the first stage real, not token value. It is almost exclusively an Italian invention, or perhaps we should rather say adaptation—for Italy did not discover the art of coinage for herself. Greeks and Etruscans practised it for several centuries unheeded by her. When the Italians at last decided to adopt the useful art, they still tried to retain their favourite metal—bronze—perhaps the only metal then available in great bulk. The 'Aes Rude' soon disappeared before the new coinage. But the 'Aes Grave' itself does not form, as was once thought, a long chapter in the history of Italian coinage. It is only a short episode, a transition from the old Italian bronze to the silver coinage familiar in the Greek world.

The 'Aes Grave' of Rome, in its earliest stage, was based

Figure 2 [p. 3]

Figure 4 [p. 4]

on an as, or whole piece, of one pound of twelve ounces—not the later Roman pound of 5057 grains Troy (327·45 grammes), but the old Oscan pound of 4210 grains (272·8 grammes).[1] The denominations cast were the as, its half, the semis, its third, the triens, its fourth, the quadrans, its sixth, the sextans, and its twelfth, the uncia (Nos. 3–8). The reverse type is the same throughout, the prow of a ship turned as a rule to the right—rarely to the left. The obverse types are fixed for the different denominations. They are one and all heads of deities—Janus on the as (No. 3, Fig. 2), Jupiter on the semis (No. 4), Minerva on the triens (No. 5), Hercules on the quadrans (No. 6, Fig. 3), Mercury on the sextans (No. 7), Bellona on the uncia (No. 8). The mark of value is always present on one or both sides : unity, I, for the as, S, half, for the semis, and four, three, two dots or one dot, representing ounces, for the triens, quadrans, sextans, and uncia. The prow of the reverse is obviously related to the development of Rome's power at sea. Whether any one definite event, such as the capture of Antium in B. C. 338, is commemorated, as Haeberlin suggests, is not so certain. The choice of heads of deities for the obverses is intelligible enough in principle, but the exact nature of the choice is hard to explain. Janus 'bifrons', the god of beginnings and endings, may well open the series. Jupiter, the chief god, naturally follows on the semis. Minerva, who with Jupiter and Juno was honoured on the Capitol, is clearly entitled to a place, and Mercury, as god of luck and trade, has special claims here. But why should Hercules have the remaining place ? How can we explain the absence of Juno, Mars, and Vesta ? We do not know the exact reasons for the choice made. Very possibly it lay in the special history of the period.

This coinage did not remain for very long at its original weight. By a long process of decline, sometimes quite gradual, sometimes violent, the as fell from its original weight of one pound to that of one ounce.[2] Ancient writers tell us of only two formal reductions, (1) to a standard of two ounces for the as in the First Punic War, and then (2) to one ounce in the

[1] Another view is that the only pound ever used in Rome was that of 5057 grains (327·45 grammes), but that the as only reached the actual weight of 10 oz. of that pound. The question is too complicated to be discussed in detail here.

[2] But one ounce of the Roman pound of 5057 grains (327·45 grammes), not of the old Oscan, which was abandoned possibly in B. C. 268.

Second. The reduction was due to two causes—the desire of the State to raise money easily in time of stress by inflating the currency, and a natural wish to secure a better adjustment of the bronze to the silver, which at its introduction was tariffed considerably too high. In this case are shown examples (Nos. 9–13) of the reduced 'Aes Grave' of a standard of about four or five ounces to the as. The reduced weight made it possible to issue larger denominations, and we now find the ten-as piece (decussis, No. 9, Figs. 4, 5), the three-as piece (tressis, No. 11), the two-as piece (dupondius, No. 11)—the first two with the head of Roma, the city-goddess of Rome, as an Amazon in a Phrygian helmet, the third with the head of Minerva. The as and semis (Nos. 12, 13) retain their original types. In the whole of this series the prow is turned to the left. The pieces below the semis were now, as a rule, struck not cast, the sextans and lower denominations always so. Below the uncia the half-ounce (semuncia) and quarter-ounce (quartuncia) were now issued, both without mark of value, with obverses, heads of Mercury and Bellona respectively. When the as fell to the two-ounce standard, all denominations were struck, not cast. Examples of this and later bronze coinage will be found in Cases 10 and 11.

The Romans themselves attributed their first coinage to the King, Servius Tullius. Mommsen thought that it was introduced by the Decemvirs, who began work on the first code of laws in B. C. 451. Haeberlin has brought its date down to B. C. 338, and this estimate cannot be far wrong. The reduction of the as to two ounces fell in the First Punic War. The Latin colony of Hatria (near Civita S. Angelo), founded in B. C. 282, cast asses of a pound weight : so too, did Ariminum (Rimini), founded in B. C. 268. The denarius was introduced in B. C. 268 at a value of ten asses. If these were libral asses, the denarius, 1/72nd of a pound of silver, would equal ten pounds of bronze, and silver would stand to bronze as 1 to 720. It seems probable that it was at about this time that the Roman as, though still nominally of the pound standard, was reduced, as we know from the coins themselves that it was reduced, to about five ounces.

To sum up—the as was first issued not earlier than B. C. 338, possibly some years later. It remained for some years at about the standard weight, then fell to about five ounces, then, sinking again, was standardized at two ounces (B. C. 250–

Figure 5 [p. 4]

Figure 6 [p. 5]

240 ?), and finally fell to one ounce in B. C. 217. The as was the original unit of reckoning. Later it was replaced by the sestertius, a quarter of the denarius, originally, as its name suggests, two and a half, later four asses. Later writers, naturally enough, often confuse asses and sestertii in reckoning. Prices undoubtedly rose during the Republic, and a later writer might find 100,000 sestertii a very suitable amount in a context that originally required 100,000 asses.

Apart from the Roman, there is a large body of Italian 'Aes Grave', some issued under Roman influence, some independently, some assignable to definite mints, some as yet unassigned. Four important series, to which Haeberlin gives the name of 'Latin', are intimately related by community of types and symbols to the silver, with legend ROMANO and ROMA, which is often called 'Romano-Campanian' and assigned to the mint of Capua, *circa* B. C. 340–268. The 'Wheel' series is distinguished by the wheel that forms its invariable reverse type. The 'Roma' series has a head of Roma as type of the as, turned to the right on obverse, to the left on reverse (No. 14, Fig. 6). The sextans has a shell on both sides (No. 18) ; the obverse shows it from the outside, the reverse from the inside. Sometimes a club appears as symbol. The 'Janus-Mercury' series is so called from the types of its as ; the triens (No. 17, Fig. 7) has a thunderbolt on obverse, a dolphin on reverse. A sickle appears as symbol on the reverse. The 'Apollo' series is so called from the types of its as (No. 15), which has a head of Apollo turned to the right on obverse, to the left on reverse ; its triens (No. 16) shows a horse's head to the right on obverse, to the left on reverse. A symbol, vine-leaf, sometimes occurs in this series. All these series are cast on the standard of the as as a pound, but it is not the same pound in every case ; all four series show the Roman weight of 4210 grains (272·8 grammes), but the Janus-Mercury and Apollo series show also heavier weights, 5057 grains (327·45 grammes) and 5264 grains (341·1 grammes) respectively. The 'Apollo' series stands rather apart from the other three. But the 'Wheel' series is linked to the 'Roma' series by the 'Roma' head of the as, the 'Roma' series to the 'Janus-Mercury' by the reverse types of triens, quadrans, sextans, and uncia. At the same time, types such as the 'Roma' head, the horse, the dog ('Wheel' series), the 'Mars' head ('Roma' series), the 'Apollo' head, the

horse's head ('Apollo' series) are closely related to the 'Romano-Campanian' silver. As that silver may be attributed with strong probability to the Pyrrhic War, these four groups of 'Aes Grave' will belong to the same period. Rome was driven by the stress of war to make an unparalleled financial effort, and, having to operate in districts of silver as well as of bronze currency, issued parallel series of coins in both metals. Where these coins were cast cannot be determined. As the silver, however, must have been the product of several mints, we may assume the same to be true of the bronze ; the mint of the heavy 'Apollo' series is probably to be looked for in Apulia, as its standard is that of South-Eastern Italy. The Carthaginian types, horse and horse's head, contain a definite reference to the alliance of Rome and Carthage against Pyrrhus in B. C. 279.

Closely akin to these series is another series, usually assigned on grounds of style to Cales (Calvi), an important Latin colony in Campania, founded in B. C. 334, which also issues a fine series of didrachms. No. 19 (Fig. 8) shows the as of this series, of libral weight, with head of Minerva, helmeted, to left on obverse, and on reverse the cantharus with two handles, which distinguishes the series throughout. A great number of coins, from as to uncia, shows no clear sign of origin, and can only be attributed generally to Central Italy-or Latium. In Apulia the most important issue belongs to Luceria (Lucera), the great Latin colony founded by Rome in B. C. 314 to secure her grip on the South-East. The as of libral weight with obverse, head of Hercules in lion-skin, reverse horse's head, is shown here (No. 20). Later coins give the town-name and prove the origin of the earlier uninscribed. Asculum (Ascoli) and Venusia (Venosa) also have 'Aes Grave' of their own. There are also rare coins of small denominations attributed to the Vestini. Northwards, in Picenum, the important Latin colony of Hatria (near Civita S. Angelo), founded in B. C. 282, issued a fine series of libral weight, from as to uncia. The as (No. 25, Fig. 9) has on obverse a fine head of a bearded Silenus facing, and on reverse a sleeping dog—perhaps a local type, as it recurs at the Umbrian town of Tuder (Todi). A semis (No. 22) and a quadrans (No. 23, Fig. 10) of this latter town are shown with types, sleeping dog—lyre and frog—anchor respectively. The Umbrian town of Iguvium (Gubbio) has also coins to its credit. The oval quadrans (No. 24)

Figure 3 [p. 3]

Figure 7 [p. 5]

Figure 10 [p. 6]

Figure 11 [p. 7]

with obverse, club, reverse three dots as mark of value, is attributed on the evidence of finds to Umbria : it might, however, also be Etruscan.

In these last coins Roman influence is not discernible, and it is also absent from the series of Etruscan coins, some of Volaterrae (Volterra), some of Tarquinii (near Corneto), some not more closely attributable. The coins of Volaterrae have the town name 'Velathri' in Etruscan, and, as typical obverse, a sort of young Janus head in a flat cap. The fine as of Tarquinii (No. 28) has on obverse the forepart of a boar, on reverse, a spear-head. The Etruscan series are mainly distinguished by a wheel, sometimes of a very archaic pattern, as obverse type. With this wheel are associated as reverses a wheel, a crater, a bipennis, an amphora, an anchor, an archaic wheel, three crescents. One series, standing rather by itself, has a young male head in peaked cap to front as obverse, and sacrificial vessels as reverse. Here are shown the as of the wheel-amphora series (No. 26, Fig. 11) and the semis of the wheel-bipennis series (No. 27). The as of these Etruscan series is cast either heavy at 3158 grains (204·6 grammes) or light at 2339 grains (151·6 grammes). They can hardly come early among the issues of 'Aes Grave', for, apart from their low weight, their style, too, is late, and the typical early money of Etruria was in gold and silver. It seems simplest to attribute them to the middle of the third century B. C., when Etruria, though no longer free in her foreign policy, was still only partially under Roman influence.

As we survey the whole field of 'Aes Grave' we cannot but be struck by the predominance of the Roman element in it. It looks far more like the coinage of a united Italy than of an Italy still divided between Rome and the Samnite alliance. Although, then, Rome herself may possibly have begun to coin as early as B. C. 338, the general spread of 'Aes Grave' in Italy appears to belong to the period from about B. C. 300–240.

SECTION II

Cases 10, 11

GOLD, SILVER, AND STRUCK BRONZE OF THE REPUBLIC

FROM the peculiarly Italian coinage of the 'Aes Grave' Rome passed in B. C. 268 to the silver coinage characteristic of the Greek world. The silver struck before that date had been emergency coinage, intended mainly for military needs and playing little part in the commercial life of Rome. The introduction of the denarius placed silver beside bronze in the home market. Within something like twenty years of that date the sextantal reduction of the bronze definitely co-ordinated that metal with the silver. Another fifty years and silver is dominant in the Roman coinage.

Rome, we have seen, first used silver of her own during the struggle with Pyrrhus. It was, then, a natural step forward to introduce it beside the 'Aes Grave' into the capital. This first silver coinage consisted of the denarius, the 'tenner', equal in value to 10 asses; its half, the quinarius ('fiver'), equal to 5 asses; its quarter, the sestertius ('two and a halfer'), equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ asses. The denarius was struck at the weight of 4 scruples (70·5 grains, 4·57 grammes), or 72 to the pound, the quinarius at 2 scruples (35·25 grains, 2·285 grammes), the sestertius at 1 (17·625 grains, 1·142 grammes) (Nos. 1–3). There can be little doubt that this silver coinage was seriously overrated in terms of bronze. In B. C. 268 the as appears to have been still nominally libral, actually perhaps weighing five ounces or rather more. We thus get a relation of silver to bronze as 1 to 720,[1] whereas, later under Augustus, silver is to brass as 1 to 28. Perhaps this was an additional reason for the reduction in the weight of the bronze. On the sextantal standard silver was related to bronze as 1 to 120. The types of all three denominations were the same. On the obverse the goddess Roma was represented as an Amazon in a winged Phrygian helmet, like Athena as war-goddess of the city, but differentiated from her by the form of helmet; on the reverse appeared

[1] Probably this over-tariffing was deliberate. Even if we take the as of B. C. 268 to be worth only four ounces, the ratio of silver to bronze is still 1 to 240.

Castor and Pollux, the Heavenly Twins, charging right with lances in rest and stars above their heads, as they had appeared to fight for Rome against rebel Latium at the battle of Lake Regillus in B. C. 494 (Nos. 1–3, Pl. I, 1–3). The denarius has the mark of value X, the quinarius V, the sestertius IIS—all on the obverse. The only legend is the ROMA of the reverse. These earliest silver coins of Rome, without signature of mint or moneyer, were probably struck mainly in Rome itself and were only scantily issued. Later, as early as about B.C. 245, if not before, symbols, letters, or monograms began to appear on the coins. As no such marks appear on any bronze earlier than those of the sextantal standard, it is probable that their introduction follows close on the introduction of that standard, that is, not very long before B. C. 240. The exact meaning of these marks is not known ; some of the earlier letters seem, without doubt, to be initials of mints. The early symbols may be either signs of mints or of moneyers, or issue marks. Roman magistrates, at a later date, certainly used similar symbols, perhaps heraldic in origin and often of a punning character, and some of the early symbols occur later in such uses. Probably some symbols refer to mints, some to moneyers, and the same will be true of the rare early monograms or combinations of letters. Here are shown a denarius with symbol rod (No. 17), a quinarius with symbol corn-ear (No. 19), and a denarius with letter and monogram C.Av. (No. 18). For Southern Italy, a didrachm, equal in value to $1\frac{1}{2}$ denarii, was struck ; its obverse shows a young Janus head, its reverse Jupiter in quadriga, whence its name, quadrigatus (Pl. I, 6).

At an uncertain date, which tradition associates with the war against the Illyrian pirates (B. C. 229), a new denomination, the victoriate, was added to the Roman coinage, three-fourths of the denarius in value and weighing 3 scruples (52·87 grains, 3·43 grammes), named from the Victory on the reverse which stood crowning a trophy. The obverse showed a bearded Jupiter (cf. No. 32, with symbol, sow, Pl. I, 4). The victoriate is of the same weight as the rare drachm of the 'quadrigatus' series. It would appear, then, that about B.C. 229 the half of the 'quadrigatus' which had hitherto been sparsely struck began to be issued in quantity, chiefly for Adriatic trade, but with new types, the reverse perhaps referring to the victory over the pirates. The drachms of Illyrian towns, such as Apollonia, of the same weight, though usually

dated to B. C. 229 and later, may still lend some justification to Pliny's statement that the victoriate was introduced from Illyricum. What is quite certain and of great importance is that it was not current as a coin in Rome, but was struck for the foreign market only. Pliny definitely states this for the victoriate, and we may guess that the same is true of the 'quadrigatus'. Rome, then, in the period from B. C. 268–212, had two parallel issues of coins : (*a*) her own coinage of the Capital —denarius, quinarius, sestertius, reduced libral (later sextantal) bronze ; (*b*) her coinage of Southern Italy and abroad —the 'quadrigatus', didrachm and rarely drachm, later, in place of the drachm, the victoriate, equivalent in value to $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the denarius respectively, and the triens, quadrans, sextans, uncia, and semuncia of the so-called 'Romano-Campanian' series.

As the same symbols often occur on denarius and quinarius and victoriate, we must take it as probable that the same mints at times issued both. No letters and only one symbol (corn-ear) occur on the 'quadrigati', a fact which suggests that the issue began to decline at about the time that the 'victoriate' commenced.

The quinarius and sestertius are rare coins after the early years of this issue, but the quinarius certainly was struck at intervals beside the victoriate, and was not superseded by it.

The incessant activities of Rome in Illyricum and in North Italy seem to be reflected in a continually growing stream of coinage. A climax is reached with the great crisis of the Second Punic War. There is now a continuous issue of coins, probably, if we could map it out, struck year by year. The names of moneyers now began to make their appearance, either in monogram or in very much abbreviated form, and, beside the original reverse type of the Dioscuri, a new one, Diana galloping in a biga, appears (Pl. I, 8). It is natural to associate this type with the close alliance of Rome and Latium against Hannibal. The temple of Diana on the Aventine was the symbol of the old alliance between the peoples, and the new type might appeal to the Latins in a way in which that of the Dioscuri could not. Here are shown a denarius of Dioscuri reverse and a victoriate of M (? Matienus), Nos. 33, 34. Under the stress of war important financial measures were undertaken. Gold was struck, the weight of the denarius was reduced from 4 to 3 3/7 scruples (1/72nd to 1/84th

of a pound), the as was reduced to an ounce in weight, and the denarius was now equated to 16 asses. For some time to come, however, the old mark of value, X, was retained. Under the sextantal system, silver had stood to bronze as 1 to 120; it now stood at 1 to 112. The relations of the metals were not seriously disturbed, but the purchasing power of all was considerably increased. The close study of the coinage of the Second Punic War may some day furnish fascinating results, but at the present its details lie hidden from us; we must only observe that no further change of type took place before its close.

The history of the bronze may be briefly summarized. We have already seen above how the system of 'Aes Grave' disappeared, *circa* B. C. 245, when the libral as was formally displaced by the sextantal. In the new system the types remain the same for all denominations, but the quadruncia ceases to be issued. All denominations, however, are now struck, and the bronze begins to be overshadowed by the silver. Under the uncial reduction the types, too, suffer no change, but the semuncia ceases to be issued. Roman conservatism is even stronger here than in the silver coinage.

In this case are shown triens, quadrans, sextans, uncia, semuncia, quadruncia of the reduced libral series (Nos. 4 to 9), as, semis, triens, quadrans, sextans, uncia, and semuncia of the sextantal series (Nos. 10–16), and as, semis, triens, quadrans, sextans, uncia of the uncial series (Nos. 25–9, 31): No. 30 shows a sextans of rather later date.

Of the gold there is not much that need be said here. All the pieces, without exception, are emergency coinage, and probably all belong to the beginning of the Second Punic War. The pieces with obverse, bust of Mars helmeted, reverse, eagle on thunderbolt, and marks of value ↓X (i. e. 60), XXXX, XX, may form part of the urban system with the denarius; the pieces with obverse, head of Janus, and reverse, oath-scene, belong to the same areas as the 'quadrigati' and 'victoriati' and probably, like them, were struck for the foreign market only. Into the endless controversies over the dates of these coins we cannot enter here. The view stated above is in itself reasonable and is very nearly that given definitely by Pliny.

The coins of the Mars series were of the value of 60, 40, and 20 sestertii, as Pliny expressly tells us. As their weights

are 3, 2, and 1 scruples respectively, we find that gold is to silver as 1 to 20, if the gold coinage was earlier than the money reforms of B. C. 217, or 1 to 17·5, if it was later. The latter figure, and therefore the latter date, is the more probable. Even so, the gold is tariffed above any normal market value of the metal, but in an emergency coinage that is not surprising. The 'oath-scene' coins are of two denominations, without marks of value, of the weights of 6 and 3 scruples respectively; on the analogy of the 'Mars' gold, they must have been worth 120 and 60 sestertii respectively. The pieces with mark of value XXX are usually considered false. Here are shown the three denominations of the 'Mars' series (Nos. 20–2, Pl. I, 5), the stater of the 'oath-scene' series (No. 23, Pl. I, 7), and a very interesting imitation of the half-stater, struck in electrum, with female janiform head (No. 24); this last coin was certainly struck under Carthaginian influence, possibly at Capua during the Hannibalic occupation.

The Second Punic War not only established for ever the supremacy of Rome in Italy, but also ensured her standing as a world-power. This process is reflected in the coinage. The denarius is now issued in masses sufficient to satisfy large foreign markets. The 'quadrigati' had probably ceased already, and now the 'victoriati', too, cease to be struck. The denarius, in fact, has taken their place. The bronze coinage is definitely relegated to an inferior position. With bronze thus subordinate and gold only struck in emergency, Rome enters on the course of silver coinage normal in that world of Greek civilization which she now begins to dominate. So far has a single century carried her from her primitive systems of 'Aes Rude' and 'Aes Grave'.

The first period of Roman silver is full of difficulties. The chronology is inexact, the questions of mint highly controversial. As far as mints go, it is certain that the denarii and its parts were struck largely at Rome, but also at other mints, probably South Italian, possibly also Sicilian and Spanish (?), which sign with such letters as B (Beneventum or Brundisium?), L (Luceria?), CROT (Croton). The victoriate, on the other hand, was mainly issued locally, and only exceptionally, if at all, at Rome, as may be seen by an examination of the issues in which denarius and victoriate occur side by side.

For chronology, a few guiding principles may be laid down.

The earlier denarii sometimes show fine style and high relief and some boldness of planning : later the style deteriorates and the relief is mainly lost. The 'Roma' head of the obverse varies in some details, such as the shape of the earring. The legend ROMA is often incuse on early specimens. The uninscribed coins are mainly early. The symbols follow the uninscribed, and monograms or abbreviated names, often accompanied by symbols, the symbols. The single letters are mainly initials of places and are of about the same date as the symbols.

We can form a very good idea of the coinage that was being struck at the beginning of the Second Punic War, and can even make some estimate of the amount that is to be assigned to its course. But from about B. C. 200 until about B. C. 125 we have few chronological indications of any kind to guide us. The issue of bronze gradually fell away: in the second half of the second century B. C. comparatively little bronze was struck—the highest denomination, the as, scarcely at all. There were no gold issues, if we except the extraordinary piece, bearing the name of 'Ti. Quinctius' and certainly struck in Greece in honour of Ti. Quinctius Flamininus, the liberator ; this, however, is no ordinary issue. The silver coinage—that is to say the denarius—was dominant. The denarius was the coin *par excellence* of the Rome that stepped beyond Italy to Empire. The victoriate was no longer issued —the denarius had taken its place. The quinarius and sestertius no longer accompanied their whole piece. It was not till about B. C. 104, during the war against the Cimbri, that the half of the denarius was again struck : in value a quinarius, it was now called 'victoriate', because it borrowed the Victory reverse of the old victoriate.

The denarius of about B. C. 205 had still the head of Roma on obverse, with either the Dioscuri or Diana in biga on reverse. Perhaps at the end of the Second Punic War—certainly not much later—a new reverse, Victory in a biga, was introduced. Then gradually the use of chariot reverses, with quadriga as well as with biga, spread, and from about B. C. 150 onwards reverses of quite original character began to come in. The head of Roma remained unchanged on the obverse down to about B. C. 110, when other divine heads began to appear in its place. The mark of value, X, gave place about B. C. 145 to a new mark, ⧢, the cross-stroke differentiating the ten as a value mark. Where X occurs on denarii of later date, it is,

almost certainly, only on coins of mints outside Rome. The natives of Spain and Gaul were accustomed to the old denarii with X : in order not to confuse them, the new sign was not introduced. For a very short time, probably about B. C. 150, the numeral XVI was in use. The denarius, of course, continued to be worth 16 asses, and the new mark, ✳, partly obscured the reference, long since obsolete, to the number ten.

Within the narrow range of types in use during most of this period there is great variety of style, and occasionally of fabric. The questions of mintage here involved are, as yet, largely unsolved. Count de Salis traced a series of issues, not struck at Rome, but at mints in central and in southern Italy. But, although we may recognize with him the non-Roman style, we shall hardly accept his interpretation of it. Ancient coinage, where it leaves the main beaten ways, does so on special occasions, and special occasions for coinage in Italy were few and far between in the second century B. C. What we rather expect to find and what may be lying hidden in the mass of coins, of style not Roman, is coins of the provinces—first of Spain, later of Gaul and Africa and the East—associated with the progress of the Roman armies.

The denarii of M. Atilius Saranus (No. 43) and L. Itius (No. 39) still show the old types, Rome and the Dioscuri. The moneyers, whose names now first appear in an easily recognizable form, were the 'triumviri a(ere) a(rgento) a(uro) flando feriundo'. Young senators held this charge after service in the army at the outset of their civil career. The moneyer was probably responsible for receiving from the Senate general instructions as to his issues and for the choice of types ; but he was of course fenced in by traditions, and all details, including the actual striking, must have fallen to a permanent staff of expert workmen. The name is frequently given in the genitive case—a genitive of possession. The signature, occasionally accompanied by a symbol, is all that signalizes the moneyer as yet. It is important to remember that the term 'family coins', often applied to these denarii, is simply an unfortunate description : we have to do with the ordinary state coinage of the Roman Republic. The denarius of C. Talna shows the new Victory reverse (No. 38). The edge is cut or serrated, but this serration occurs only occasionally in this issue. We shall have later to discuss the significance of this cutting. L. Sempronius (No. 44) shows

a later denarius of the old pattern, while on the coin of C. Terentius Lucanus (No. 37) a Victory is holding a wreath behind the head of Roma—perhaps a reference to the final triumph over Antiochus of Syria. C. Maianius (No. 45, Pl. I, 9) shows a Victory reverse, in style perhaps not of the Roman mint, and other Victory reverses, in varieties of style, bear the names of L. Sauf(eius) (No. 35), Natta (No. 36), Flavus (No. 40), and S. Afranius (No. 41). On the coins of C. Valerius Flaccus (No. 49) and C. Titinius (No. 50) appears the mark of value XVI.

Variants of the biga reverse are seen in the denarius of M. Aurelius Cotta, Hercules driving a biga of centaurs (No. 48), and C. Renius, Juno driving a biga of goats (No. 46). The Dioscuri reverse is still freely represented. The cornucopiae behind the head of Roma on the obverse of L. Cup(iennius), No. 42, is said by some to pun on the moneyer's name: if it is a pun, it is a very bad one. On the coin of Cn. Lucretius Trio (No. 55) the X now appears in front of, instead of behind, the head of Roma. The local issues of C. Plutius (No. 67) and of Q. Minucius Rufus (No. 69) retain the same reverse. Later than the reverses with biga are those with quadriga, though no doubt the two series overlap. Probably, in the earliest use, 'bigatus' meant denarius, 'quadrigatus' didrachm, but, with the invasion of the reverse of the denarius by the quadriga, the name 'quadrigatus' came to be transferred to that coin. We see here quadrigae driven by Victory on coins of C. Numitorius (No. 58), P. Maenius Antiaticus (No. 60), and M. Fannius (No. 69), by Mars accompanied by Nerio on coins of Cn. Gellius (No. 53). Apollo is charioteer on coins of M. Baebius Tampilus (No. 54, Pl. I, 10), and M. Opeimius (No. 63), Sol on coins of M. Aburius Geminus (No. 59), Juno on coins of C. Curiatius (No. 47). Most frequent of all is Jupiter the thunderer on coins of M. Aufidius (No. 51), Carbo (No. 70), and many other moneyers.

On the denarius of Tampilus (No. 54, Pl. I, 10) the head of Roma is by way of exception turned to the left. On the reverse of C. Curiatius (No. 47) Juno is crowned by Victory. Late reappearances of the Victory in biga reverse are seen on denarii of M. Calidius, Q. Metellus, and Cn. Foulvius (Nos. 72, 73), and T. Cloulius (No. 65). Cn. Cornelius Sisenna, on a coin of peculiar style, shows Jupiter driving a quadriga over an

anguipede giant, while above the quadriga are a radiate head of Sol and a crescent (No. 74, Pl. I, 13). Manlius on a coin possibly related to the preceding has Sol in a quadriga driven to front, with a crescent high in the field (No. 71). More remarkable are the reverses of Sex. Pompeius Fostlus (No. 56, Pl. I, 11) and Ti. Minucius Augurinus (No. 64, Pl. I, 12). Fostlus claimed descent from Faustulus the shepherd who found the twins Romulus and Remus suckled by the she-wolf, and celebrates the incident on his reverse : this is one of the first instances in which a whole type is given up to the history of the moneyer's family. Augurinus, too, plays on his family history, and shows on his reverse a bronze monument, erected outside the Porta Trigemina to a L. Minucius Augurinus, who in B. C. 439 had successfully reduced corn prices during a famine ; the details of the type—the two standing figures, the lions' heads and the bells—are obscure in interpretation, but it is to be noted that one of the two figures is an augur. The reverse of N. Fabius Pictor shows an ancestor of his as 'flamen quirinalis' (No. 66), or, perhaps better, the god, Quirinus, himself.

A few other points of interest may be noted. A glance over the coins will show how far from uniform is the style. Of the various mints other than Rome we know little. Nos. 68–78 are certainly not of Rome—probably Spanish. Until we have successfully divided the Republican coins into their mints, we must remain a long way from fully appreciating their historical lessons. The mark of value ✻ will be seen to be normal in this period : late occurrences of the old mark X are seen on Nos. 68 and 69. The occurrence of three names on the same coin is interesting (cp. Nos. 72 and 73), but these three men are not certainly the 'triumviri monetales'—they might possibly be special commissioners, entrusted with some particular task and allowed, in connexion with it, to strike coins. We are probably right in assuming, as a rule, that the man who signs the coin was a moneyer of the regular mint, but we must always be on the look-out for exceptions.

In or about the year B. C. 125 were buried the first large hoards of Roman silver of which we have detailed knowledge. From this period finds are not infrequent and place our chronology on a far surer basis. The absence of finds of an earlier period is remarkable : the main explanation, no doubt, is that the area of circulation of the denarius was Italy, and

that Italy remained from B. C. 200 to 125 free from war. The absence of any finds of the Second Punic War is extraordinary; perhaps the denarius was then still a scarce coin. With chronology now surer we can with some certainty divide our coins into periods. Our first period may run from about B. C. 125 to B. C. 91—roughly from the Gracchi to the Social War. The main characteristics of the period are the introduction of new obverse types, the increasing variation of the reverse, the reintroduction of the quinarius, the increase in coins of non-Roman mintage. Nos. 79 (Pl. I, 14) and 80 show us coins of L. Porcius Licinus and L. Cosconius, forming part of a remarkable issue, signed by five separate moneyers, and in every case by two commissioners, L. LIC. and CN. DOM.: these men were probably commissioners for the foundation of Narbo Martius (B. C. 118) and signed the coins struck by the three 'triumviri monetales' and the two urban quaestors. L. Cosconius, a moneyer (No. 80), struck, with his colleagues, for the new province of Narbonese Gaul, and used the old mark of value X; L. Porcius Licinus (No. 79, Pl. I, 14) struck with his colleague for Rome, and used the later mark ✱. The denarius of Ti. Veturius B(arrus) (No. 90) borrows its reverse, soldiers swearing loyalty over a pig, from the gold coin of the third century (No. 23 in this case, Pl. I, 7); it has, it appears, some connexion with the revolt of Fregellae, B. C. 125.

A little series of coins in a peculiar tidy style was certainly struck abroad—perhaps at Massalia in Gaul. It comprises coins of T. Deidius (No. 88), L. Philippus (No. 89, Pl. I, 16), and M. Cipius (No. 87). The reverse of Deidius, two soldiers fighting, one with whip, one with sword, is supposed to refer to T. Didius, who, as praetor in B. C. 138, put down the slave revolt in Sicily. Philippus (No. 89, Pl. I, 16) shows a royal Macedonian head on his obverse—probably Philip V, who had been a personal friend of the family; the equestrian statue on the reverse is unknown. The reverse of Cipius (No. 87) is the old Victory in a biga, with a rudder below the horses. Quinarii with 'victoriate' reverse are seen on Nos. 105 and 106, No. 105 (T. Cloulius, Pl. II, 4), with the head of Jupiter, the old type on obverse, No. 106 (C. Egnatuleius), with the new type, head of Apollo.

Another group of foreign mintage, perhaps African, is represented by Nos. 95–8. L. Caesius (No. 97) has on obverse the young god, Veiovis, on reverse the Lares seated, with dogs

beside them ; Q. Lutatius Cerco (No. 96) has a galley on the reverse, and L. Memmius (No. 95, Pl. II, 2) has an oak-wreathed head on obverse and the Dioscuri standing to front with their horses on reverse. Ti. Quinctius (No. 98) has on obverse Hercules, on reverse a horseman galloping.

Other coins of the period, probably struck outside Rome, are Nos. 86–93. M. Sergius Silus (No. 86) describes himself as Q(uaestor) striking EX S. C., in execution of a decree of the Senate ; his types are, obverse Roma, reverse Soldier on prancing horse. M. Fourius Philus (No. 94, Pl. I, 15) has a Janus head on obverse and, on reverse, Roma crowning a trophy. C. Serveilius (No. 91) has a wreath behind the head of Roma on the obverse, and on the reverse the Dioscuri riding in opposite directions. C. Malleolus (Nos. 109, 110) uses, as his obverse types, heads of Apollo and of Mars, and as his reverses, Victory crowning Roma and a warrior standing between trophy and rock. A. Albinus (No. 111), striking in the same style as C. Malleolus, has, on his obverse, head of Apollo, on the reverse the Dioscuri.

The Roman mint is represented by Nos. 79–85, 100–4. Piso and Caepio, who were urban quaestors in B. C. 100, strike with the obverse, head of Saturn, and reverse, a distribution of corn and legend AD FRV(mentum) EM(endum) EX S. C. (No. 107). C. Sulpicius (No. 104, Pl. II, 1) has on his obverse the 'publici Penates', on the reverse, two soldiers swearing faith over a pig. M. Herennius (No. 101) has a head of Pietas on obverse, and a type of 'Pietas', one of the Catanian brothers[1] carrying a parent, on reverse. M. Fonteius (No. 100) combines the heads of the Dioscuri on obverse, and a galley on reverse. L. Saturninus (No. 84), perhaps the famous demagogue, has the conventional types, head of Roma and Jupiter in quadriga. L. Aurelius Cotta puts both his types in wreaths, the head of Vulcan on obverse and the eagle on thunderbolt on reverse (No. 103) : the coin is serrated. M. Lucilius Rufus (No. 81) strikes his coin 'publice' (PV.)—evidently a special issue.

M. Porcius Cato (No. 108), striking to celebrate the triumph over the northern barbarians, has a peaceful Roma on obverse, and a seated Victory on reverse. P. Porcius Laeca (No. 92, Pl. II, 3) has the interesting reverse PROVOCO, a soldier appealing to a citizen from an officer on his left. L. Thorius

[1] Brothers who rescued their aged parents from an eruption of Aetna.

Balbus (No. 99) honours on the obverse Juno Sospita, 'mater regina', the special goddess of Lanuvium, the deliverer of men from perils of war ; the reverse, the butting bull of Thurium, may be a pun on the moneyer's name. C. Fundanius (No. 83) strikes as quaestor the conventional types of Roma and Jupiter in quadriga. L. Sentius (No. 82), with similar types, may belong rather to the next period.

L. Minucius Thermus (No. 93), with his reverse, two soldiers fighting over a fallen comrade, may have struck for North Italy. C. Allius Bala (No. 112) struck near the year 100, perhaps at more than one mint : he shows Diana (?) on his obverse, Diana driving a biga of stags on his reverse.

In this period the content of the coinage grows vastly richer : the stereotyped chariot reverses are now sparingly used, picturesque reference to the family history of the moneyers is common, and, even more interesting, definite reference to contemporary events is now allowed. It is extremely probable that the normal practice of the mint, as soon as it had once strayed beyond the few traditional reverses was this—to offer some hint or comment on current events, under the form of a reference to the legendary history of the moneyer's family. This family history, we must remember, was very plentiful, and a young moneyer of a famous 'gens' might have a hundred possible references suitable for a coin ; naturally enough, the exact conditions of the moment might lead him to his actual choice. In this period, if not earlier, we begin to meet with plated coins. We know that the Senate at times issued a certain proportion of base money. It has been generally assumed that this was done by issuing a certain proportion of plated denarii. This is probably the case, for the serration of the edge (cp. Nos. 79, 80, 102–4) was undoubtedly designed to show that a coin was not plated. The first large issue of serrati was of the year B. C. 118 (Nos. 79, 80, Pl. I, 14). The democratic party disliked the policy of debasement and advocated the use of serration as a safeguard against it. The fact that this issue was intended for Gaul, where the natives were accustomed to pure silver, supports that conclusion. Nos. 102–4 were probably struck in the last stage of the Cimbrian War, when Marius and the democrats were in power. The extension of coinage abroad is no doubt due to the series of important campaigns—against Jugurtha and against the Cimbri and Teutones.

A second period is formed by the Social War and the Civil Wars between the Marian and Sullan factions, *circa* B. C. 91–71. Formally, the coinage develops along the same lines as in the previous period. The chief change is that the head of Roma almost disappears from the obverse: obverse, as well as reverse, now varies from issue to issue. The coinage in the provinces becomes more prominent—possibly only because we can now trace it more certainly. Finally, there is a revival of bronze and gold coinage, of which we may speak before we proceed to the details of the silver. The bronze of the uncial standard had been very sparingly struck—mainly in small denominations—in the second half of the second century B. C. In B. C. 89 the issue on a large scale was recommenced, but the standard was again reduced, the as now weighing a normal half ounce. Here are shown a series from as to uncia (Nos. 116–21), the as struck by M. Fonteius, the rest anonymous. The traditional types and marks of value still appear, but there are now occasional innovations even in this most conservative of all series—for example, the three prows on the reverse of C. Pansa or the busts of Numa Pompilius and Ancus Marcius on the obverse of the as of C. Censorinus. Gold was again struck after an interval of over one hundred and thirty years. The occasion of the coinage is certain, the exact mints doubtful. When Sulla had taken the field against Mithradates, the Marians seized Rome and Sulla found himself cut off from his home base. He prosecuted the foreign war with success and finally returned in B. C. 82 to Italy, where he made a rapid settlement with his enemies in Rome. Sulla, either in the East or in South Italy towards the close of his command abroad, struck a series of gold coins, aurei, weighing about 9½ scruples each. No. 138 bears the name of Sulla himself and his description as 'Imper(ator) iter(um)'; the obverse has a head of Venus and, in front, Cupid with a palm branch, the reverse a jug, a lituus,[1] and two trophies. No. 139 (Pl. II, 5) shows the head of Roma on obverse, and on reverse, Sulla in a triumphal quadriga; the obverse is signed by L. Manlius as propraetor. No. 141 has Roma helmeted on obverse, and an equestrian statue of Sulla on reverse: the obverse is signed by A. Manlius A. f. Quaestor, the reverse bears the name of L. Sull(a) feli(x) dic(tator). This last coin was certainly struck after Sulla's triumph in

[1] i. e. augur's wand.

January, B. C. 81, perhaps in Rome itself. No. 139, too, should refer to Sulla's triumph, whether actually celebrated or only planned. The corresponding denarius is also shown (No. 140). No. 138 probably belongs to an earlier period in Greece. Plutarch tells us that at the end of the war with Mithradates Sulla levied a contribution of 20,000 talents on the cities of Asia Minor, and ordered Lucullus to collect the money and strike coins. This gold piece is the only surviving coin which can reasonably be supposed to represent this issue.

We may now turn to the silver. Nos. 113–15, 122–37 are all products of the mint of Rome, or possibly of other Italian mints, during the great Social War and the years following. L. Calpurnius Piso (No. 113) combines a head of Apollo with a dispatch rider, carrying laurel-branch. Q. Titius (No. 115) has on his obverse the god of Lampsacus, Priapus, on the reverse the city badge, a winged horse. L. Titurius Sabinus (No. 114, Pl. II, 6) has the Sabine king, Titius Tatius, and the Sabine legend of Tarpeia. C. Vibius Pansa (No. 127) has the head of Apollo and Ceres with torches and a pig before her. M. Fannius and L. Critonius (No. 125), as plebeian aediles, issue a coin from public funds, (P(ublico) A(rgento)), for the purchase of grain, with Ceres on obverse and a distribution scene on reverse. L. Rubrius Dossennus (Nos. 123, 124), probably celebrating the close of the Social War, honours the goddess Minerva and the god Jupiter with busts on obverse and quadrigae on reverse. C. Licinius Macer (No. 126) has the bust of Veiovis on the obverse and Minerva in a quadriga on the reverse. P. Crepusius (No. 133) combines the head of Apollo with an equestrian statue. M. Fonteius (No. 128) has again the head of Apollo and on the reverse the infant Jupiter and the Cretan goat. A joint issue of three moneyers, Gar(gilius), Ogul(nius), Ver(gilius) (Nos. 129–31), keeps throughout the types, head of Apollo or young Jupiter, Jupiter in quadriga : the names of the three magistrates occur in varying orders—probably to denote equality of rank. The output was enormous, and a denarius like that of L. Calpurnius Piso must have been struck in its hundreds of thousands. A second group represents the coinage of the Sullan restoration, B. C. 82–71, perhaps not all struck in Rome, and certainly in large part intended for the needs of the Sertorian War. L. Rutilius (No. 149) has the old-fashioned types, head of Roma and Victory in a biga. M. Volteius (No. 143) has the

bust of Bacchus on obverse and Ceres drawn by serpents on reverse, probably in allusion to games in Rome. L. Lucretius Trio (No. 150) shows a head of Sol and a crescent moon with seven stars, and C. Postumius (No. 151) a head of Diana and a hunting dog. P. Satrienus (No. 153) shows a head of Mars and a wolf, L. Rustius (No. 154) a similar head of Mars and a ram, L. Axius (No. 152) Mars again on obverse and Diana in a biga of stags on reverse. Q. Pomponius Rufus (No. 155) has the head of Jupiter and the eagle, the bird of Jupiter, on the reverse.

One little group of this period stands by itself, and appears to be associated with the last phases of the Italian revolt. L. Farsuleius Mensor (No. 144) shows a bust of Libertas, and Roma assisting Italy to mount a chariot with her. C. Egnatius Maxsumus (No. 145) has a bust of Libertas and figures of Italy (?) and Venus, between oars, L. Plaetorius (No. 146), a bust of Moneta and an athlete carrying a branch.

Nos. 132–7 are coins of the Marian faction, struck after the victory over the Sullans in Rome and later, after the return and triumph of Sulla, in Spain with Sertorius. C. Mamilius Limetanus (No. 134) has a head of Mercury, and on reverse, Ulysses welcomed by his dog Argos. His coin is serrate, but he also strikes an ordinary denarius in company with two other moneyers. C. Naevius Balbus (No. 162) has a bust of Juno on obverse, and Victory in a triga—a very unusual feature—on reverse. C. Poblicius (No. 161) varies the portrait of Roma by giving her plumes in her helmet : his reverse shows Hercules strangling the Nemean lion. Ti. Claudius (No. 163) combines a bust of Diana with a Victory in biga. C. Marius Capito (No. 160) possibly refers to the development of Spanish towns under Sertorius by his head of Ceres and his colonist ploughing. A. Postumius Albinus (Nos. 158, 159, Pl. II, 7) celebrates the coming of Sertorius to govern Spain, under the patronage of Diana. L. Papius (No. 137) has on his obverse Juno Sospita, in her goat-skin, and on the reverse a gryphon. L. Procilius (No. 135) has a similar obverse, and on reverse the same goddess driving a biga to right, accompanied by her snake. The non-serrate denarius of Procilius (No. 136) with the head of Jupiter and a figure of Juno Sospita was probably struck a little earlier (*circa* B. C. 85) in Rome. Q. Crepereius Rocus (No. 164) combines a bust of Amphitrite with Neptune in a chariot of sea-horses. No. 132, the denarius of Norbanus, is probably an early Marian coin, struck before

the policy of serrating the edge had been introduced ; the reverse, corn-ear, fasces, and caduceus, is a definite statement of a party programme, 'Agriculture, Constitution, and Trade'.

Nos. 147 and 148 show coins struck in Spain *circa* B.C. 82–81 by L. Fabius and C. Tarquitius, the quaestors of C. Annius, the Sullan governor. The reverses are conventional, Victory in a quadriga or biga, the obverses show feminine heads, generally interpreted as portraits of Anna Perenna, a rustic deity, afterwards identified with the sister of Dido : she would be associated with the early family history of Annius. No. 156 (Pl. II, 8) was struck by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius in Spain in commemoration of a victory over Sertorius : the obverse refers to the 'Piety' of the general—Pietas is shown as a woman with her emblem, the stork, while on the reverse appears the traditional elephant of the Metelli. A more direct reference to his victory is seen on the reverse of P. Lentulus (No. 157).

The head of Roma now appears but rarely on the obverse (cp. Nos. 139, 140). Instead, we find heads of other divinities, Jupiter (No. 136), Juno Sospita (Nos. 135, 137), Minerva (No. 123), Apollo (Nos. 113, 129–31), Veiovis (No. 126), Ceres (No. 125). No doubt there is usually some appropriateness in the reference if we could only see it. Juno Sospita seems to have been adopted as special patroness by the Marians in exile. Ceres, again (No. 125), naturally presides over a coinage connected with a distribution of corn. Apollo probably owes his honours here to the fact that the Senate met constantly in his temple, which lay just beyond the pomoerium, to confer with generals in the field. The head of Titus Tatius (No. 114, Pl. II, 6) is a novel type of obverse, borrowed from traditional Roman history : it is soon followed by heads of the kings Numa Pompilius and Ancus Marcius (No. 122). Diana, who appears on coins of the Marians (Nos. 158 and 163), was the patron goddess of Sertorius : the references to her on coins of the Sullans (cp. No. 151) are probably conditioned by the Sertorian War. So, too, the heads of Mars (Nos. 152, 153, 154) probably refer to the same war. Family references are certainly to be seen on No. 114 (Pl. II, 6), where L. Titurius Sabinius shows us the old Sabine king and the casting of Sabine shields on the traitress Tarpeia, and also on No. 134, where C. Mamilius Limetanus, who claimed descent from Mamilia, daughter of Telegonus, son of Ulysses, shows the Greek hero with the dog Argos.

On the whole there is a tendency to allude faintly to contemporary history. The reverse of Piso (No. 113), for example, a galloping dispatch rider, is a suitable type for the great Social War ; the chariot reverses of L. Rubrius Dossenus (Nos. 123, 124) refer to thanksgivings to the great gods in honour of the breakdown of the revolt ; the reverse of Limetanus, Ulysses and the dog Argos, may, beside its family reference, convey a reference to the return of Marian exiles. The coins of A. Postumius Albinus (Nos. 158, 159, Pl. II, 7) show Diana, patron goddess of Sertorius, and Hispania on obverse, on reverse, Sertorius sacrificing a bull on a hill and Sertorius standing, adoring an eagle, with fasces set up behind him : we have here a definite numismatic memorial of the establishment of civil and military government by Sertorius in Spain. The reference to the sea—probably to the operations of the pirates—is unmistakable on the coins of Q. Crepereius Rocus (No. 164). Other references, both to legendary and contemporary history, undoubtedly exist, but they only too readily elude our knowledge.

No. 142 has a peculiar interest. It is a coin of one M. Metellus, with a reverse showing an elephant's head on Macedonian shield, in apt commemoration of the glories of the Metellan gens. The same reverse, but with obverse, head of Roma, is also found. But the style of that coin and ours are far apart, and the evidence of finds confirms this assumption. We are led to assign the Roma obverse to *circa* B. C. 130, the Apollo obverse to *circa* B. C. 81. An exactly similar phenomenon has been observed for two other moneyers. We have here a certain case of restoration : probably the Senate, restored to power by Sulla, reissued, with suitable changes, an issue of coins struck at the death of Ti. Gracchus when it had won its first great battle with the *populares*.

We now come to the crowning period of the Republican mint, when the coinage reaches its highest beauty and interest. The decay, so painfully manifest in serious matters, had hardly as yet affected a minor branch of administration such as coinage. We find an art far superior to anything yet seen on Roman denarii (cp. especially Nos. 166 ff.). We find a wealth of historical and mythological allusion, especially to the family history of the moneyers. We find coinages struck in honour of particular games and shows. Portraiture, hitherto almost confined to gods and demi-gods, begins to be applied to men

of quite recent memory : it is the first step towards the actual representation of living men on coins. The mint history of the period is as yet only half explored. We can only indicate here one group of coins probably struck in the East, another struck under Julius Caesar in Gaul.

One very remarkable issue is that of M. Plaetorius, represented here by Nos. 166–71, or rather, perhaps, issues, for the coins fall into two sections clearly distinguishable in style. Part of the issue (No. 171), struck by Plaetorius as *curule aedile*, shows a bust of Cybele, with a curule chair on reverse : Plaetorius as aedile celebrated games for the 'Great Mother'. No. 170 has on obverse a bust of Vacuna, on reverse an eagle on a thunderbolt. The rest of the issue is of a distinct and finer style, and does not bear the title *curule aedile*. The types are hard to explain. No. 166 has on obverse a bust of Fortuna (?), on reverse a pediment of a temple in which is an anguipede giant. No. 167 has a head of Bonus Eventus (?) and a winged caduceus, No. 168 a bust of Ceres and a pig and torch. No. 169 has again a bust of Fortuna, and on reverse a young figure leaning on a rail, labelled SORS. It is tempting, on grounds of style, to attribute these coins to the East in the time of the great L. Lucullus. Probably to the East [1] belong the beautiful coins of L. Manlius Torquatus (No. 172), with a head of Apollo and a tripod, of Q. Pomponius Musa with obverse, the head of Apollo, and on reverse Hercules, Calliope, Euterpe, and Terpsichore (Nos. 173–6), of M. Calpurnius Piso (No. 177) with a terminal bust of Mercury, and a patera and knife in laurel-wreath. These might well belong to Pompey's years of conquest and settlement in the East. Many later denarii show a comparable style, but, as the East was less to the fore after B. C. 63, we may perhaps suppose that the Eastern style came to Rome with die-sinkers accompanying Pompey on his return. Examples of reference to family history are probably to be seen on coins of C. Considius Nonianus (No. 178), a bust of Venus Erycina and her temple, of Sufenas (No. 179), who celebrates the giving of games of victory by his father (?) after the battle of the Colline Gate, of Q. and L. Cassius Longinus (Nos. 186 and 201), a head of Bonus Eventus and temple of Vesta, and a head of Vesta and a juryman voting, probably referring to the trial of the Vestals in B. C. 113 before L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla. The

[1] Or, at least, to artists freshly introduced from the East.

same is true of L. Marcius Philippus (No. 189), who gives on obverse a head of Ancus Marcius, and on reverse the Aqua Marcia, and of C. Memmius (No. 200), who has a head of Quirinus on obverse, and Ceres on reverse, with legend stating that a 'Memmius' was the first to celebrate games of Ceres. Libo (No. 195), striking about B. C. 55, shows, on obverse, a head of Bonus Eventus, as god of trade, on reverse, a 'puteal' (well-head) erected by an earlier Scribonius. Paullus Lepidus (No. 196, Pl. II, 11), striking about B. C. 55, alludes with his obverse, head of Concordia, to the agreement between the leading men of Rome, while his reverse looks back to the great Macedonian triumph of L. Aemilius Paullus in B. C. 168. Portraits or figures of historical characters are seen on Nos. 182–85. Caldus (No. 182) gives on obverse a head of C. Coelius Caldus, his grandfather, who in B. C. 107, as tribune introduced a 'lex tabellaria', referred to by the tablet inscribed 'L. D.', 'libero-damno'; the meaning of the radiate head of Sol on the reverse is uncertain. Another coin of Caldus (No. 183) apparently refers to successes of his father in Spain: the reverse shows a 'lectisternium', and honours the moneyer's father, L. Coelius Caldus, who had been one of the 'Septemviri Epulones'. Nos. 184 and 185 are probably coins of Brutus, the 'Liberator', struck as early as the year B. C. 59, in scorn of the 'triumvirs' Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, the modern 'kings' of Rome. No. 184 shows busts of the two great early liberators, Brutus and Ahala, No. 185 (Pl. II, 12) a head of Libertas and the procession of the first Consul, escorted by lictors with fasces. Most interesting are the references to recent or quite contemporary history. Faustus Sulla (No. 181, Pl. II, 9), the son of the dictator, strikes with obverse, a bust of Diana, reverse, surrender of Jugurtha to Sulla by Bocchus, undoubtedly on the occasion of the gladiatorial games given under his father's will in B. C. 60. Nos. 187 and 188 are coins of M. Scaurus and P. Hypsaeus, commemorating the ancient capture of Privernum by an ancestor of Hypsaeus and the recent submission of Aretas, King of Nabathaea, to Scaurus, as legate of Pompey. Cn. Plancius (No. 197) with his obverse, a head of Diana Planciana in Macedonian head-dress, and his reverse, the Cretan goat, appears to refer to his own career in Macedon and Crete. A. Plautius (No. 198, Pl. II, 10) celebrates on his reverse, the submission of 'Bacchius the Jew'—apparently Aristobulus, who surrendered to Pompey.

The obverse, head of Cybele, probably refers to games in honour of the Great Mother. L. Vinicius (No. 199) by his head of Concord probably calls attention to the need of Rome for internal peace : his reverse, Victory with palm and four wreaths, certainly refers to the triumphs of Pompey.

Two very rare aurei fall in this period. One, struck by Cn. Lentulus (No. 165), shows the head of Jupiter with an eagle on a thunderbolt on reverse. The other (No. 180) is a fascinatingly interesting memorial of Pompey the Great. On the obverse, Africa, in her head-dress made from the trunk and scalp of an elephant, refers to Pompey's early African triumphs; the reverse shows Pompey riding in triumph, accompanied by his young son. The occasion must almost certainly be that of Pompey's triumph of B. C. 61. The aureus, however, in this period is a purely exceptional coin.

The coinage of Julius Caesar in Gaul is at once detected by the serrate edge, which seemed to offer the natives an immediate guarantee against plating. The moneyers were probably legates of Caesar. M.' Aquillius (No. 193) with his bust of Virtus and his reverse, warrior raising a fallen province, refers to the restoration of Sicily by his grandfather in B. C. 101. Kalenus and Cordius (No. 191) give their obverse to the two military divinities, Honos and Virtus, while the reverse, showing the friendly greeting of Roma and Italia, bears directly on Caesar's liberal policy in Transpadane Gaul. T. Vettius Sabinus (No. 192) shows the old Sabine king, Titus Tatius on obverse, and on reverse a togate figure in biga left, and the description IVDEX : the reverse, like the obverse, has perhaps a Sabine reference. C. Hosidius Geta (No. 194) combines the head of Diana with the Calydonian boar, probably with some reference to his family ; this denarius is also found serrate and is then certainly to be attributed to a deputy of Julius Caesar. The non-serrate coin shown here is possibly an earlier issue of a kindred moneyer. L. Roscius Fabatus (No. 190), much the most productive moneyer of this group, has on obverse Juno Sospita, on reverse a scene showing a maiden giving food to a snake, a reference to her ritual. The famous denarius (No. 202), with the elephant trampling on a serpent (CAESAR) on one side, and the emblems of the pontificate on the other, was certainly issued by Julius Caesar during his governorship in Gaul. But, as it is not serrate, we may conclude that it was struck, probably in

Cisalpine Gaul, for circulation in Italy. Caesar had been pontifex maximus since B. C. 63. The serpent is said to be a symbol of Gaul and the elephant of Caesar.

We come to the last act in the drama of the Roman Republic —the breakdown of the constitution and the committal of the nation's fate to the arbitrament of civil war. The stable elements in the constitution proved unadaptable to new tasks : the unstable elements could not acquire stability on the old basis. The coinage, as usual, faithfully reflects the political development. The mint of Rome was abandoned by Pompey and the Senate to Caesar. Under Caesar it resumed a precarious life : after his death it enjoyed a short term of apparent independence, then fell under the influence of the triumvirs, and then ceased issue entirely. Its last issues of gold and silver under Augustus are to be regarded as a temporary concession made by the Emperor to conservative sentiment. The personal element which had been gaining ground for so long now suddenly takes command. Julius Caesar, appropriately enough, was the first living man to have his portrait placed on a Roman coin. But others were quick to follow his example ; not only the pretenders to Caesar's vacant throne but the 'liberators', Brutus and Cassius themselves, placed their portraits on the obverse. Republicanism, except for a few choice souls like Cato, had become a shallow farce.

Another consequence of the great rift in the Roman state was a distinct cleavage between the issues of Rome and the issues of the provinces. Provincial issues have become familiar to us before now, and in the days of Marius and Sulla there was even a cleavage rather similar to this. But, as yet, provincial issues have for the most part been issued by magistrates of the same order as those who issue the urban coins, and have been subject to the control of the Senate. The first issues that give prominence to the provincial governor belong to Sulla and his contemporaries. The provincial issues of the present period are mainly military in character, issued by a general, in virtue of his 'imperium', to pay his troops. The Senate is left out of account ; only in the early Pompeian issues are Republican forms fully maintained. We have here one example the more of the way in which the provincial commands virtually emancipated themselves from the control of home. The triumvirs made some use, as we have seen, of

the mint of Rome. But they also issued coins in those parts of the Empire for which they claimed responsibility, either directly as sovereign authorities or through their subordinates. It is just on this basis that Octavian builds his imperial coinage. He coins in gold and silver as 'imperator' in the provinces : only in brass and copper does he co-operate with the Senate in coinage in Rome.

The quinarius and sestertius were revived for a short time under Julius Caesar at Rome, but only the quinarius continued to be struck in silver. Issues of copper were almost confined to the provinces. Some other points of interest will come out as we look at the individual coins.

We start with the coins of Julius Caesar, that is, coins struck under his authority, but only in part bearing his name or portrait. We have, first, coins of the years B. C. 49–44, struck at Rome, bearing the names of moneyers. C. Vibius Pansa (No. 209) has a bust of Pan and a seated figure of Jupiter of Anxur ; L. Hostilius Saserna (No. 210) a head of a Gaul (perhaps Vercingetorix) and a Gallic warrior in his chariot : the Gauls are, for the nonce, thought of as allies rather than as enemies of Rome. Palikanus (No. 214) shows a bust of Libertas and a view of the Rostra, probably in reference to democratic measures of Caesar at Rome. L. Plautius Plancus (No. 215) has a bust of Medusa facing on obverse, and on reverse, Victory 'quadrigam in sublime rapiens', the subject of a famous picture of Nicomachus placed by Plancus in the Capitol. The head of Medusa appears to be borrowed from Etruscan silver. C. Antius Restio (No. 217) shows on his obverse the head of an ancestor Restio, on the reverse, Hercules with club and trophy ; the reference of the type is quite uncertain. M. Cordius Rufus (No. 218) shows the emblems of Minerva, helmet and owl on obverse, and an aegis on reverse, and again (No. 219), a head of Venus diademed to the right, and Cupid on a dolphin on reverse ; the Venus is probably the ancestress of the 'gens Iulia'—the point of the reference to Minerva is uncertain. T. Carisius (No. 223) has a purely mint issue, with the goddess Moneta on obverse and the cap of Vulcan, anvil, tongs, and hammer on reverse ; we think of Caesar's reform of the mint. L. Papius Celsus (No. 224) shows a head of Triumphus and a she-wolf with brand and eagle : the reverse refers to a foundation legend of Lanuvium, which must have been the home of the Papian

house. L. Valerius Acisculus (No. 225) has a head of Apollo and Europa on the bull: the references are obscure. L. Aemilius Buca (No. 232, Pl. II, 15) has a reverse showing the dream of Sulla, who thought the goddess Ma (or Selene) came to him and put thunder in his hand, bidding him strike his enemies; we probably see a reaction against the Caesarian policy in the year following his death. L. Flaminius Chilo (No. 227), the first of the new IIII Viri, inaugurated by Caesar, to function (IIII VIR PRI. FL.), has as his obverse the head of the goddess of the mint, on the reverse, Victory in a biga. M. Mettius (No. 228) and P. Sepullius Macer (No. 229) show the laureate head of Julius Caesar on obverse, and on reverse Venus Victrix. L. Cossutius Maridianus (No. 231) shows the dictator veiled, with lituus and apex, in his religious capacity of 'pontifex maximus'. No. 211 (Pl. II, 13), a coin without a moneyer's name, shows Venus on obverse, Aeneas with Anchises on the reverse—it was probably struck in the East in the year of Pharsalia, B. C. 48. A. Allienus (No. 213), proconsul of Sicily, *circa* B. C. 47, strikes for Caesar with obverse, a head of Venus, and reverse, the local hero, Trinacrus, holding the symbol of Sicily, the triskelis. To Julius Caesar is due one important change. Gold, before his time, had been seldom struck, and, when struck, usually struck abroad. Julius Caesar inaugurated issues which lead on directly to the imperial aurei, and were struck by special officers of his own appointment in Rome itself. No. 203 with its companion denarius, No. 204, shows a head of Pietas on obverse and the letters IIT, on reverse a trophy of Gallic arms. This coin is not of Roman work, and was probably issued before the Civil War in Cisalpine Gaul. The letters IIT have been read as a numeral '52'—a reference to the age of Caesar at the time of issue. The aureus, issued by Hirtius (No. 220), is probably of Rome, and shows a veiled and laureate head with features resembling Julius Caesar: the reverse shows the emblems of the priesthood. This variety of the usual coin of Hirtius—the only common gold coin of the Republic—which has a head of Pietas on obverse and the name of Hirtius on reverse has been doubted. Hirtius struck these coins as 'pr(aefectus Urbi)' for the quadruple triumph of Caesar in B. C. 46. L. Plancus (No. 222) struck with a bust of Victory, and on reverse, a sacrificial jug, to celebrate the triumph of Caesar in B. C. 45.

Plancus, like Hirtius, was 'praefectus Urbi'. L. Cestius and C. Norbanus (No. 233), who strike as 'pr(aefecti)' by decree of the Senate, probably struck in the period just after the death of Caesar. The curule chair should refer to the issuers of the coins : the head of Africa on obverse may refer to senatorial hopes of Africa.

We turn now to coins of the opposing faction. C. Coponius and Q. Sicinius (No. 206) strike, as praetor and IIIVir respectively, by decree of the Senate, with types, a head of Apollo and club, bow and arrow of Hercules. This coin has been attributed on insufficient grounds to the East—it was probably struck at Rome at the very beginning of the Civil War. The coin of Nerius, urban quaestor, is another Roman issue of the same date, drawn from the reserve in the 'aerarium Saturni'. Saturn appears on the obverse, while on the reverse is the signature of the consuls and the legionary eagle between two standards. Q. Sicinius (No. 207) also strikes with obverse, a head of the Fortune of the Roman people, and reverse, a caduceus palm and wreath.

The provincial issues of the Pompeians have next to be considered. M. Terentius Varro, legate of Pompey in Spain, struck in B. C. 49 with obverse, a bust of Jupiter Terminalis, and reverse, a dolphin, sceptre, and eagle (No. 208) ; the reverse clearly alludes to the majesty and power of Pompey by land and sea. The coin of M. Minatius Sabinus (No. 221) transports us to a later stage of the war when Cn. Pompey the younger revived the cause in Spain, B. C. 46–45 ; his obverse shows the head of Pompey the Great, his reverse the welcome of the younger Pompey by Hispania, as he alights from a ship. A still later coin of Sextus Pompey (No. 226), with a head of Pompey the Great, and Pietas on reverse, celebrates the successes of Sextus in B. C. 45–44. The coins of Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio (No. 212) and M. Eppius (No. 216, Pl. II, 14) belong to the campaign of Thapsus. Scipio uses as types a head of Jupiter and an elephant, the badge of his 'gens'. The name of Scipio was of legendary fame in Africa, and to it this general is said to have owed his command. The other coin, issued by Eppius as legate of Metellus, gives the head of Africa with corn-ear and plough in allusion to the fertility of the province, and Hercules with club and lion-skin on reverse.

The death of Julius Caesar put an end to one system of

reform or revolution, but it could not restore the Republic. The Senate, for a moment, resumed its free rights of coinage and even laid a hand on gold. But it was soon enslaved by the triumvirs and then again reduced to inactivity. In the provinces the coinages of 'imperatores', unauthorized by the home authorities, went merrily forward. Even the 'Liberators' show no consideration for the old theories of right. The triumvirs, in their turn, strike coins in their own right, rather as monarchs than as magistrates of a free Republic. Finally, Augustus, even while seeking to return to a basis of law and constitution, finds himself constrained by practical considerations to use his rights of coinage in the provinces. The Senate, for a short term of years, was allowed by him to co-operate with him in issuing gold and silver at Rome. Then it must abandon its rights to that coinage for ever.

As is only natural in the period of actual transition from Republic to Empire the personal element becomes increasingly more prominent. Almost more often than not the obverse is now given up to the portrait of a living person : on the reverses the personal and topical allusions dominate more and more. The coins strongly suggest that it was not 'libertas' but '*πολυκοιρανίη*' ('the rule of many kings'), which the principate of Augustus destroyed.

We begin with Rome. P. Sepullius Macer, who had struck for Caesar during his life, struck soon after his death a coin with a reverse used for Caesar, a horseman with two horses, but with obverse, a head of Mark Antony as augur (No. 230). It was a very broad hint that Mark Antony had taken the place of Caesar. L. Servius Rufus strikes an aureus (No. 235), with obverse, the heads of the Dioscuri, and reverse, a view of Tusculum, and a denarius (No. 236, Pl. III, 1) with the Dioscuri standing on reverse, and on obverse the tribune, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, who relieved Tusculum in B. C. 374. We have here a perfect example of the Roman method of alluding to contemporary history. The immediate reference is all to the family history of the moneyer—the Dioscuri were especially worshipped at Tusculum. But the coin was struck when a siege similar to that of Tusculum was proceeding, and when Roman armies were again trying to relieve their besieged comrades. Tusculum must at once have suggested Mutina to the faintest intelligence. P. Accoleius Lariscolus (No. 238) has a bust of Acca Laurentia on obverse and three figures of

wood nymphs [1] on reverse. M. Arrius Secundus (No. 237) strikes with a bust of Quintus Arrius (?) on obverse, a spear, wreath, and camp chair (?) on reverse—the allusions in both cases are obscure, but have been thought to be personal to the moneyers. C. Numonius (No. 239) has on obverse a portrait, on reverse a soldier attacking a rampart. We shall probably be nearer the truth if we interpret both Nos. 237 and 239 as referring to the campaign against Antony, and see, in the persons on the obverse, protagonists of the Republic, portrayed but not named—Octavian (?) and Decimus Brutus (?). Petillius Capitolinus (No. 240) has the head of Jupiter Capitolinus and the temple on the Capitol : he appears to have held an hereditary charge at that temple. The period of liberty once over, the hand of the triumvirs is soon laid on the coinage. The gold coinage is mainly reserved for their honour, on the silver wider scope is still allowed. P. Clodius (No. 241) and L. Livineius Regulus (No. 243) both restore the head of Julius Caesar on the obverse : on the reverse, Clodius has a figure of Mars, Livineius a charging bull. Livineius again (No. 242) shows a portrait on obverse, a combat of man and beasts on reverse ; the obverse is probably of L. Regulus, his father, who as praetor and praefectus urbi entertained the people with games. L. Mussidius Longus strikes denarii with the head of Julius Caesar, and rudder, cornucopiae, and apex, symbols of the dictator's rule (No. 244), with head of Sol and two figures on a platform inscribed CLOACIN. (No. 245), and with bust of Victory and Victory in a biga. Venus Cloacina was taken to be a goddess of cleansing or expiation, at whose shrine Romans and Sabines had once purified themselves after the famous Rape of the Sabine Women, and a reference to the slaughter of citizens at Philippi is probable. Ti. Sempronius Graccus (No. 247) and Q. Voconius Vitulus (No. 248), striking at a rather later date, both have the head of Julius Caesar as their obverse : Gracchus shows on reverse two standards, a plough and a sceptre, Vitulus a calf. Both reverses are personal to the moneyers—one is a punning reference to the name 'Vitulus', the other an allusion to the famous tribune of the plebs. There is a direct contemporary reference to Octavian's settlement of veterans on the land.

Before we turn to the triumvirs themselves, we may first glance at the coinage of Brutus, Cassius, and one or two

[1] Or the daughters of Phaethon (?).

independent commanders. No. 258 (Pl. III, 2) shows the portrait of Brutus and the famous cap of Liberty and daggers of the Ides of March—it is struck by L. Plaetorius Cestianus. The denarius (No. 252) was struck by L. Sestius with obverse, a veiled bust of Ceres, and reverse, emblems of priesthood, No. 254, struck by C. Flavius Hemicillus, has a head of Apollo and a Victory erecting a trophy—referring to the patron god of Brutus and perhaps to a victory in Thrace. Pedanius Costa (No. 251) shows a head of Apollo and a trophy. The aureus (No. 253) struck by L. Casca Longus shows the head of Brutus and a combined military and naval trophy—probably referring to the capture of Patara and Xanthus in Lycia. A denarius of the same moneyer (No. 256), with its head of Neptune and Victory, refers to the same events. M. Servilius struck for Cassius the beautiful denarius (No. 257) with head of Libertas and a crab holding aplustre, diadem, and rose, referring to a Roman victory over the Rhodians near Cos. Murcus (No. 259) combines a head of Neptune and a trophy, by which stands a warrior raising a kneeling woman. Murcus, a subordinate of Cassius, probably struck this coin in Asia after Philippi. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus shows on his aureus (No. 263) his portrait(?), with a temple of Neptune on reverse, on his denarius (No. 264) a portrait of an ancestor, and a trophy set on a prow. Ahenobarbus was a legate of Brutus, commanding his fleet, hence his references to the sea. The temple of Neptune was probably actually built by that Cn. Domitius who fought against the Allobroges in the campaigns of B. C. 120–1. Q. Cornuficius (No. 234) has a horned head of Jupiter Ammon and a figure of Juno Sospita crowning an augur. Cornuficius, as governor of Africa in B. C. 42, sheltered senatorial exiles, and for this merit pictures himself crowned by Juno Sospita, the patroness of men in jeopardy. The aureus and denarius of Q. Labienus (Nos. 267, 268, Pl. III, 3) show the degenerate son of T. Labienus, the renegade Caesarian, who joined the Parthians to attack Syria—hence the horse of the reverse. Labienus has the effrontery to adopt the title of honour, 'Parthian Imperator', as if he were a conqueror, not a suppliant, of the Parthians. Sextus Pompey, who for so many years held Sicily and the seas and harried the triumvirs, has a little coinage of his own. No. 271 (Pl. III, 4) shows Sextus Pompey on obverse, on reverse, Pompey the Great and his elder son

Gnaeus : Sextus bears the title which he wrested from his rivals, 'praefectus classi et orae maritimae'. The denarii, (No. 272) with the head of Neptune and a trophy, and (No. 273), Scylla wielding a rudder and the Pharos of Messana, refer to the repulse of Octavian's fleet off the Scyllaean promontory in B. C. 36. The denarius of Q. Nasidius (No. 274) shows a bust of Pompey the Great and a galley sailing. The NEPTVNI ('Son of Neptune') on obverse refers to the title claimed by Sextus after his victory over Octavian.

We now come to the final stages of Republican coinage—the issues of the triumvirs and the issues, passing on into the imperial, of Octavian (Augustus). No. 250, showing Mark Antony as augur, with lituus, and Julius Caesar as pontifex maximus, with sacrificial jug, is probably a camp coin, struck during the siege of Mutina. In these years of turmoil there were undoubtedly issues of coins for purely military purposes, made actually in camp ; even where regular mints were available, the coinage bears a definitely military character. The denarius of P. Ventidius Bassus (No. 265) is most probably a camp issue ; Bassus was legate of Antony in Gallia Narbonensis, and was expected to move to the relief of Mutina in B. C. 41. No. 270 was struck by L. Plancus for Antony probably in Gaul, *circa* B. C. 42 : the types refer to Antony's augurate and to the restoration of trade. The aureus (No. 261) and denarius (No. 262) show Mark Antony and his brother Lucius, who as consul in B. C. 41 espoused the cause of the dispossessed Italians against Octavian. These coins were struck in the East, and show Mark Antony's sympathy for his brother's activities—a sympathy which almost led to a break-up of the triumvirate. Both coins are signed by M. Nerva, proquaestor. The denarius (No. 260), which has a head of Octavian in place of that of L. Antonius, was probably struck after Antony and Octavian had been reconciled. The handsome aureus (No. 266) shows with Mark Antony his noble wife, Octavia, sister of Octavian, whom he basely deserted for the Egyptian Queen, Cleopatra. Cleopatra's portrait appears later with that of Antony (No. 275, Pl. III, 5), when Antony had finally broken with the West and committed himself to the grandiose plan of an Oriental Empire. Cleopatra is styled 'Queen of Kings, of Kings who are her sons' : she claims the grand style of the Persian Empire, and at the same time vaunts the bestowal of king-

doms on her children. Antony has an Armenian tiara behind his head, and boasts of the 'conquest of Armenia', which had not been entirely glorious, as a glance at the history of his campaigns will show. The denarii (Nos. 276–8) illustrate the famous legionary coinage, struck by Antony in preparation for Actium. No. 276 is struck for the praetorian cohorts, No. 277 for the 'cohors speculatorum', No. 278 (Pl. III, 6) for 'legio XIX'. The types celebrate, on obverse, the sea by a galley, on reverse, the land by the legionary eagle and standards. The eagle and standards of the 'cohors speculatorum' are ornamented with wreaths and set on prows, probably a reference to their service on land and sea as dispatch-carriers. Aurei in this series are very rare ; denarii, struck in base silver, sometimes with iron in the alloy, are very common. Owing to the very baseness, these legionary denarii outlast all contemporary issues of purer silver in hoards. Coins are known of legions I to XXX ; in a very few cases the legion bears, as well as its number, a distinguishing mark, e. g. 'Legio XII antiqua', 'legio XVIII Lybica'. No. 279 (struck for Antony by D. Turullius) was probably struck in Asia Minor just before Actium : the Victory of the reverse points to a triumph never actually won. L. Pinarius Scarpus, left by Antony in command of an army in or near Cyrene, to defend Egypt, strikes denarii (Nos. 280, 281) first for Antony, then by a sudden change of allegiance, for the victor Octavian. The obverse of No. 280 is Jupiter Ammon with the ram's horn—a native type of Africa ; the reverse shows the Victory which Scarpus desires for Antony. No. 281 shows on reverse the Victory now set on a globe, to imply that she embraces the world : on the obverse is the right hand of fellowship which Scarpus now extends.

With the coinage of Octavian we shall find ourselves passing insensibly into the imperial series. No. 269 is a denarius struck for Octavian as triumvir by Q. Salvius in Gaul, B. C. 40. Shortly after Actium (possibly even before) we find a fine series of denarii of Eastern mintage, showing on obverse the bare head of Octavian, and on reverse, with the legend CAESAR DIVI F., 'Son of the divine Julius', such types as Victory on the world-globe (No. 282), or, with the legend IMPERATOR CAESAR, Octavian on a column adorned with rostra (No. 283), and a crocodile, the symbol of the conquest of Egypt (No. 284, Pl. III, 7). Later P. Carisius, legate

of Augustus in Spain, issues denarii at Emerita, the colony founded for discharged veterans, with a bird's-eye view of the town (No. 285). Augustus's subsequent coinages in Spain and Gaul are essentially imperial. They are struck by him as commander of the armies in the provinces and have no base in his powers as magistrate in Rome. But there is one series of aurei and denarii, the last of the senatorial mint of Rome, which the senate and Emperor combine to issue in the precious metals for the use of Rome and Italy (Nos. 286–300). The coins are not common, in many cases very rare, for this experiment only lasted about eight years, B. C. 19–12. No. 286, a denarius of Q. Rustius, struck in B. C. 19, commemorates the return of Augustus from the East. On the reverse is the altar of Fortuna Redux, dedicated by the senate in honour of that event, on the obverse, the figures of the 'Fortunae' of Antium, Fortuna Felix and Fortuna Victrix. No. 287, struck by M. Durmius in B. C. 18, shows a head of Honos on obverse, on reverse a quadriga bearing corn-ears in honour of Ceres—a reference to Augustus's care for the corn-supply of Rome. No. 288, struck by P. Petronius Turpilianus in the same year, has a head of Liber on the obverse, on the reverse an Armenian offering submission : it celebrates the bloodless settlement of the Armenian question in B. C. 20. Nos. 289–91, denarii of the same moneyer, have the head of Augustus on the obverse, on the reverse a Pegasus, Tarpeia buried under shields, and a star and crescent. On these earlier issues of Augustus's moneyers, one side refers to Augustus, one to the moneyer's history. The family of Turpilianus was probably Sabine, and in its ancient history lies the explanation of the rustic type of Liber and the legendary type of Tarpeia. The Pegasus and other similar types have been thought to refer to the Roman dramatist, Sextus Turpilius : there is probably a suggestion of the poet laureate Virgil, who had died in B. C. 19. The star and crescent suggest immortality : the crescent is a symbol of the night sky, the star is the soul after death. P. Licinius Stolo (No. 292), with his types, Augustus laureate on horseback to right, reverse, apex and ancilia, probably refers to points in the celebration of the 'Ludi Saeculares' in B. C. 17. This reference is definite on the denarius of Stolo's colleague, M. Sanquinius (No. 293). The figure on his reverse is the herald who announced the games : the obverse shows 'Divus Julius', rejuvenated, with

the 'Sidus Iulium' above his head. No. 294 combines this head of Divus Julius with a head of Augustus. It is probable that in B. C. 17 a comet appeared, which was taken by the people to be an epiphany of the deified Emperor, and perhaps induced Augustus to hasten on the celebration of the Saecular Games. C. Antistius Vetus (No. 295), striking in B. C. 16, shows on the reverse Apollo of Actium with lyre and patera, evidently a copy of some memorial of the battle. Another denarius of the same moneyer (No. 296) has on obverse, Venus, the ancestress of the Julian gens, and on reverse, the symbols of Roman religion, conceived to centre in Augustus. No. 297, struck in the same year by L. Mescinius Rufus, shows a bust of Augustus on a shield, dedicated by the Senate 'because with the life of Imperator Caesar Augustus the State has been preserved', in honour of Augustus's recovery from serious illness, on the reverse a statue of Mars and the legend, 'the Senate and people of Rome offer vows for the safety and return of Augustus' : the Emperor was about to take the field in Gaul. No. 298, struck by C. Marius in B. C. 13, indicates, by the palm-branch in an empty quadriga, a triumph not actually celebrated, in this case, for the conquest of Rhaetia. The fine aureus (No. 299, Pl. III, 8), struck in the same year by C. Sulpicius Platorinus, shows Augustus and Agrippa as colleagues for the second term in the tribunician power. Agrippa wears the mural crown of the victorious general, the rostral crown of the victorious admiral. No. 300, struck in B. C. 12 by L. Caninius Gallus, shows a barbarian of the North, perhaps a German, offering the return of a standard, probably one of those lost in the Rhine warfare. With the close of these issues ends the Republican mint at Rome : the names of the moneyers disappear for ever from the coinage.

Finally, an aureus of strange and beautiful style (No. 301), shows a remarkably young portrait of Augustus and a candelabrum ornamented with rams' heads in a wreath. Neither date nor mint of this coin has been satisfactorily determined. We can only say that it is Eastern,[1] and probably not later than about B. C. 20, certainly not earlier than B. C. 27.

[1] Possibly of Crete.

SECTION III

Cases 12–16

THE EMPIRE

THE latest coinage of Augustus, shown in the previous section, brought us over the uncertain line that divides the Republic from the Empire. Before we turn to the closer study of the new imperial coinage, it will be well to ask what the change from Republic to Empire implied.

Under the Republic the Senate had been the chief authority in finance. The regular moneyers (III viri a.a.a. f.f.) who sign the coins were undoubtedly answerable to the Senate, and special moneyers, such as quaestors or aediles, usually refer definitely to their commission received from that body. The development of the coinage of the generals in the field and of provincial coinage at large during the closing years of the Republic certainly implied a loss of power to the Senate. The triumvirs struck as autocrats, in virtue of their extraordinary commission. It was on these foundations that Augustus had to build the imperial coinage. He closed the senatorial mint of Rome for gold and silver and issued his coins as 'imperator' in the provinces. Lugdunum, the capital of Gaul, was the place on which he fixed at last for his chief mint. Tiberius followed this example, but Caligula, early in his reign, transferred the mint to Rome. From that time onwards the Emperor issues the main supply of gold and silver for the Empire from Rome. Provincial mints are either opened by usurpers, who have not power in Rome, or else help to supply special needs for special campaigns. From about A. D. 193, however, we can trace a steady tendency to shift part of the burden of coinage from Rome to the provinces ; as the third century advances we come nearer and nearer to the system of Diocletian's reform, under which the whole empire is supplied by districts and Rome is only one of a multitude of mints. Under this new system the signature of the mint, hitherto more or less rare, becomes a normal part of the coin.

Under the Republic gold had been an exceptional issue ; only under Julius Caesar and his successors had its use at Rome become common. The aureus now takes pride of place as the

most important coin. Rome, succeeding to the position of the Great Kings of the East, strikes an imperial coinage in gold like the darics of the Persian kings or the staters of Philip and Alexander. The denarius is, of course, still struck in mass, but its importance is obviously less ; for, whereas the aureus has, practically speaking, no rival, the Romans tolerated or encouraged quite a number of local and provincial silver issues in the East. The unit of reckoning continued to be the sestertius, but, as the sestertius was now struck in brass, this in no way implied a predominance of silver over gold. The Empire started, however, on a bi-metallic basis. The silver, like the gold, was originally struck very fine and of true weight. From the time of Nero dates the debasement, which gradually destroyed the value of the denarius and culminated in the ruin of the currency in the third century. The brass and copper coinage issued by the senate as chief partners in the company, S.P.Q.R., will be considered later. The aureus was equal to 25 denarii, 100 sestertii, and 400 asses.

The inner character of the coinage underwent a profound change. The imperial interest already foreshadowed by the personal interest of the later Republican coins dwarfs all others. With the disappearance of the moneyers, the references to family history cease. The personal history of the Emperor and his family, the policy of the government, the history of the day—these fill the centre of the picture. Important—but secondary—is the religious interest, seen not in reference to the great gods only, but also to those minor powers or virtues to whom the Romans offered their vows. These points will, however, best be understood if we glance over a series of imperial coins. The aureus, as the finest and most characteristic coin, has been preferred : where aurei are not available, denarii fill the gap. The object followed has been to show a portrait gallery of Emperors and a selection of interesting and significant reverses.

The aureus of Augustus (No. 1), struck at Lugdunum after B. C. 2, shows Augustus as 'pater patriae', and his grandsons and adopted sons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, sons of Agrippa and Julia, as 'principes iuventutis' with silver spears and shields given to them by the knights, on the reverse. The loss of these two youths in their prime was the bitterest grief of Augustus's life : for years after their death the type remained in use to commemorate them. The laureate crown, the symbol of victory, is

now normally worn by the Emperor. On No. 2 we see Tiberius shortly after his accession with the triumphal quadriga on the reverse, to celebrate his German triumph of A. D. 13. The aurei of Nero Drusus (No. 3) and Antonia (No. 4) were not contemporary coins, but were issued by Claudius as a dutiful son, in the years A. D. 41–44. Nero Drusus bears the title of 'Germanicus' and has a triumphal arch ('De Germanis') on his reverse in honour of those German victories, in which he ultimately met his death. Antonia wears the corn-wreath of Ceres and on the reverse is represented symbolically as 'Constantia Augusti': the torch which she carries alludes to her office of priestess of 'Divus Augustus'. Just as an Empress might be represented as a goddess, so might she be as a personification: here Antonia is not 'Constantia', 'Resolution', simply, but a special phase of that virtue, 'the Resolution of the Augustus'. Nos. 5 (Pl. III, 9) and 6 show Caligula, with his father Germanicus and his mother Agrippina I; No. 5, with the bare head of Caligula, is probably an issue of Lugdunum; No. 6, with the laureate head, an issue of Rome. Claudius (No. 7) celebrates his conquest of Britain by a triumphal arch ('De Britann.'); after A. D. 49 he associates with himself the able and ambitious lady who married him for policy, his niece, Agrippina II (No. 8). Nero in A. D. 64 reformed the coinage and reduced the aureus and denarius in weight. No. 9 (Pl. III, 10) is an early coin of the reform: the temple of Vesta, on the reverse, suggests the great fire of Rome. Nos. 10 and 11 are, at first sight, Republican coins, without reference to any Emperor. But their style and weight prove that they were struck just before the death of Nero, when Gaul and Spain revolted against him. On No. 10 the Genius of the Roman people, represented as a venerable elder with a sceptre, holds the obverse; on the reverse Mars Ultor, the god of war in action, suggests the Gallic leader, C. Vindex. On No. 11 we find the warrior goddess, Minerva, with the 'Security of the Roman people' represented as a woman sitting at her ease; the desperate uncertainty of the Civil Wars led men to place a high value on 'Security'. L. Clodius Macer, who in A. D. 68 revolted against Nero and then refused to join Galba, strikes as 'pro praetore' 'by decree of the Senate', but places his own portrait on the obverse; the galley of the reverse (No. 12) is borrowed from the coinage of Mark Antony and refers to Macer's designs on Sicily and the corn-supply of Rome.

No. 13 shows 'Divus Augustus' with the crown of rays which marks his godhead; the reverse shows the Peace of the Roman people, carrying the symbol of good fortune, the caduceus, and ears of corn. This coin was struck in Spain by supporters of Vespasian in A. D. 69 or later. Galba, the emperor made in Spain, who succeeded Nero, honours on his reverse (No. 14) Livia, 'Diva Augusta', who had protected and advanced him in his youth; she carries the patera of sacrifice and the sceptre, both signs of the goddess. Otho (No. 15) boasts of 'World Peace' on his reverse—Peace here holds her olive branch; it is a pious wish rather than a fact that is represented. Vitellius (No. 16) chooses to give prominence to his membership of the priestly college of 'XV Viri Sacris Faciundis', whose chief duty was the care of the Sibylline books; hence the tripod, raven, and dolphin of Apollo, god of prophecy, on the reverse. Vespasian (No. 17, Pl. III, 11) celebrates his great military achievement, the subjection of rebel Judaea, by the mourning Jewess seated by a trophy. A similar type of Titus (No. 19) shows the victorious Emperor standing behind the captive, while the local reference is heightened by the addition of a palm tree. The coin celebrating the consecration of Vespasian and his wife Domitilla (No. 18) was probably struck by Domitian in A. D. 81. Julia, the daughter of Titus, held a very distinguished, though irregular, position at the court of his brother. She is here honoured as 'daughter of the deified Titus', and is associated with the peacock of Juno (No. 20). The Emperors and their families were only worshipped in Rome after death; but, even in their lifetimes, flattery tended to assimilate them to the gods, and, in this sense, the attributes of gods were assigned to them. Domitian (No. 21) commemorates his celebration of the Secular Games in his fourteenth consulship in A. D. 88; the figure on the reverse is the herald who invited men to assemble to see games 'which no one living had yet seen or would see again'. The aureus of Domitia, consort of Domitian (No. 22, Pl. III, 12), shows on the reverse the baby son, who died in infancy and was made a little god: he is charmingly represented as an infant Jupiter, seated on the earth and lifting his hands as if to play with the stars. The art of this first period of the Empire, of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian houses, must be ranked very high. The portraiture is, at its best, magnificent, as for example, on No. 1, Augustus; No. 9 (Pl. III, 10), Nero; No. 14,

Galba ; No. 20, Julia. The reverse, except where it, too, has a portrait, receives rather less attention, but even here there is sometimes beauty, as in Nos. 14 and 19, or happy composition as in No. 22 (Pl. III, 12).

With Nerva we reach the threshold of the golden age of the Empire, when Emperors were loved as well as feared, and supreme power was wielded mainly for the public good. Nerva has on his reverse (No. 23) the clasped hands, symbolizing friendship, and the explanation, 'Concordia Exercituum'. The 'Concordia' was not present, where it was most needed, in the Praetorian Guard, which forced Nerva, utterly against his will, to acquiesce in the execution of Domitian's murderers. On the reverse of Trajan (No. 24, Pl. III, 13) is seen the wonderful 'Forum Traianum' which he built in Rome between the other 'fora' and the Campus Martius. On the reverse of No. 25 we see the father of Trajan, to whom the senate assigned divine honours, himself a distinguished soldier, who had served with distinction under Vespasian, first in Judaea and then in Syria. The cuirass, which is worn commonly by Trajan and frequently by his successors, is really proper to the military character of the Emperor as proconsul, and hence not strictly to be worn by him except when abroad. The denarius of Sextus Pompey (No. 26) with the Catanian brothers on the reverse, bears round the edge of its reverse the legend IMP. CAES. TRAIAN. AVG. GER. DAC. P.P. REST. This is one of a large number of Republican coins restored by Trajan in A. D. 107, when he melted down all the worn-out coinage. Evidently the older coinage was virtually demonetized by the obliteration of its types. Whether Trajan actually put it out of circulation is not quite certain. Plotina, the admirable wife of Trajan, is associated in the honour of coinage with Matidia, daughter of his sister, Marciana (No. 27). Marciana herself is seen on No. 28, with the 'carpentum' decreed in her honour after her consecration. Hadrian, the great traveller, is represented by a reverse (No. 29, Pl. III, 14), showing a sacrifice in honour of his return from his second great journey ('Vota Publica'). The reverse of his wife Sabina (No. 30), Concordia with her patera, suggests the married bliss of the imperial pair—a bliss which, as our authorities suggest, was sadly troubled. L. Aelius (No. 31), adopted in A. D. 136, bears the title of 'Caesar', now appropriated to the heir, and on the reverse shows a figure of Pietas sacrificing ;

the legend indicates his share in the tribunician power and his second consulship. Antoninus Pius (No. 32), the best-beloved of all the Emperors, shows on his reverse Roma, seated on a shield and holding the palladium and a spear. His wife, Faustina I, who died in A. D. 141 and received divine honours, has a figure on the reverse, accompanied by the motto 'Aeternitas': the figure holds patera and rudder and is perhaps to be described as 'Faustina under the guise of Fortuna Augusta' (No. 33). The reverse of No. 34 represents an Armenian mourning beside a trophy as a sign of the triumph over Armenia during that Eastern campaign, which was entrusted by Marcus to his colleague, L. Verus, and by Verus to his generals. On No. 35 we see Faustina the Younger, wife of Marcus Aurelius, associated with Cybele, 'Magna Mater', with her crown of towers, her drum, and her lions. L. Verus (No. 36) shows another phase of the Eastern victory, 'Rex Armen(iis) dat(us)' the assignment of a king to the Armenians. His wife, Lucilla (No. 37) is associated with Venus, who holds her apple and sceptre. On No. 38 we see the sacrifice at the undertaking of the 'vota decennalia' of Commodus, the degenerate son of Marcus Aurelius. On the reverse of his wife Crispina (No. 39) we see an altar dedicated to the 'gods of wedlock'. Pertinax, the estimable citizen who was advanced to the throne on the murder of Commodus, shows a certain originality in choosing his types. 'Ops divina', 'Divine aid' (No. 40) is an unusual personification: the corn-ears which she holds suggest that it is in some special connexion in which agriculture is concerned that the divine help is implored. Didius Julianus, the gambler who bid successfully for an Empire he could not hold (No. 41), boasts of a purely imaginary 'Harmony of the Troops'—unless he refers exclusively to his bought guard. His wife, Manlia Scantilla (No. 42), is associated with Juno, who holds patera and sceptre and is accompanied by her peacock; and his daughter, Didia Clara (No. 49), has on reverse 'Hilaritas Temporum', with cornucopiae and palm: there is perhaps a reference to the great festival of Cybele, the 'Hilaria' (March 25), which just preceded Julianus's accession to the throne. With this short and unhappy reign closes a long age of peace and happiness, darkened towards its close by weak and vicious government, but distinguished in the main by a sane and fortunate policy. The interest of its coin types is considerable and the art of por-

traiture is still maintained at a very high level ; compare especially, the portraits of Hadrian (No. 29, Pl. III, 14), Faustina I (No. 32), Pertinax (No. 40). The changing fashions of feminine *coiffure* are picturesquely displayed—the rolled hair and plait with high metal hoop of Plotina, the hair massed at the back behind a metal diadem of Matidia and Marciana (Nos. 27, 28), the hair bound with diadem and fastened in plait on neck of Sabina (No. 30), the elaborately waved and coiled hair of Faustina I (No. 33), the neatly waved and knotted tresses of Faustina II, Lucilla, and Crispina (Nos. 35, 37, 39).

The new period, the decline and fall of the Empire of Augustus, was born in wars. We see on Nos. 44 to 46 portraits of the three rivals, Pescennius Niger, Clodius Albinus, and Septimius Severus, who agreed only in refusing to accept the rule of Didius Julianus. Pescennius Niger struck at Antioch ; his denarius (No. 44) shows Victory erecting a trophy : his obverse title includes the word 'Iustus', which he, in proud consciousness of his integrity, preferred to those in more normal use. His aurei are of the greatest rarity. Clodius Albinus, accepted for a time by Septimius Severus as a colleague, strikes an aureus (No. 45, Pl. IV, 1) at Rome ; on the reverse he shows an African deity of fertility, 'Saeculum Frugiferum', wearing a square head-dress and accompanied by lions. The importance of the African corn-supply for Rome was just now paramount, when Egypt was in enemy hands. The aureus of Septimius Severus (No. 46) was not struck till A. D. 203, and shows the Emperor sacrificing in front of 'Fortuna Redux' who has safely brought him home from the East. Julia Domna, the Syrian lady, to whom ambition and superstition led Severus, has on her reverse the 'Victorious Venus', with apple and branch. The cruel and violent son, Caracalla, is shown as 'triumphator', with laurel-branch and sceptre on No. 48 ; it is a German triumph of A. D. 214 that is celebrated. On No. 49 we see his wife Plautilla, daughter of the over-powerful prefect of the guard, Plautianus, who was dismissed at her father's fall in A. D. 203 ; her 'Concordia Augg. (Augustorum)' is the wedded felicity to which the married pair look forward. Geta, the brother and victim of Caracalla, is shown on No. 50 as Emperor, colleague of his father and brother, with the title 'Britannicus', derived from successes in Britain, A. D. 209–211 ; on the reverse he appears as con-

queror, with arms, beside a recumbent female captive. On Nos. 51 and 52 we see Macrinus, successor of Caracalla, and his son Diadumenian, a boy of singular charm. We see the distribution of money in honour of Macrinus's accession on No. 51. On No. 52 the prince is shown with standards as 'princeps iuventutis'. Elagabalus, the beautiful but worthless boy-priest of the sun-god of Emesa, celebrates his triumph on No. 53 (Pl. IV, 2). He wears on his head the horn, a characteristic of divinity. We notice a close likeness to his cousin Caracalla. On No. 54 is seen Julia Maesa, his grandmother, a lady of great ability and strength of character, who took a large part in the government. Her reverse shows Juno, the queen of the gods. The dominance of women is one of the features of the rule of the Eastern dynasty, which first emerged with Julia Domna and now, in the reign of Elagabalus, attained the height of its power. Severus Alexander continues the Eastern line, but in a finer spirit—with all the gentler features of the dynasty and without the licence of the previous reign. His reverse, the war-god Mars, suggests a true Roman spirit (No. 55). His young wife, Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, uses the regular type of domestic felicity, 'Concordia Augustorum' (No. 56). On No. 57 we see the queen-mother, Julia Mammaea, another of the able Syrian princesses, who practically governed for her son during his minority. On her reverse she shows the great Roman goddess, Vesta, with the palladium. The empress as the female counterpart of the 'pontifex maximus' always stood in a specially close relation to Vesta. No. 58 shows an aureus of Uranius Antoninus, with the sacred stone of Emesa on the reverse. The style of these coins is peculiar—unlike any other Roman aurei known. There is a great mystery about them and their genuineness. The historians have left us a few scraps of information about an Antoninus who rebelled against Alexander in Syria, whilst base silver and bronze coins of Emesa preserve the memory of a pretender Sulpicius Uranius Antoninus in Emesa about the year A. D. 251. To which of these two persons does our coin, if genuine, belong? For the time we must leave the question open. The gentle rule of Alexander was ended by the rebellion of the gigantic soldier Maximin, who is shown here with the reverse, at first sight highly inappropriate, of 'Peace' (No. 59). He was the first of that line of soldier Emperors of Illyrian origin who did their duty in damming the barbarian tide on the frontiers,

but at sore cost to the city life of the peaceful provinces behind them. On the denarius, No. 60, is seen Gordian I Africanus, the old noble, who, half against his will, headed the revolt against Maximin in Africa : the 'Securitas', which his reverse portrays, was not vouchsafed to him, as he perished with his son within a few weeks of his proclamation. Italy, however, now took heart to rebel and, even on Gordian's fall, refused to despair. Balbinus (No. 61) and his colleague Pupienus were placed at the head of affairs. The reverse of this Antoninianus, 'Caritas mutua Augg.'—expressed by clasped hands—boasts of an affection which did not long survive the trials of life. Aurei of Balbinus and Pupienus are excessively rare. The silver, however, is plentiful, and, in this reign the Antoninianus, or double denarius, introduced in A. D. 215 by Caracalla but abandoned under Elagabalus, becomes the main silver coin—the denarius and quinarius now being issued in quite small quantities. Gordian III, the young grandson of Gordian I, was popular in a higher degree than the two elderly Augusti. He was associated with them as Caesar, and then, after Maximin I had been foiled at Aquileia and deserted by his troops, raised to the purple by their murder. We see him here (No. 62) as quite a lad, with reverse type, 'Laetitia Aug(usti) N(ostri)', suggesting merry-makings provided by the Emperor for the Roman people. Gordian III was murdered on a campaign against the Persians by Philip I, the Arabian, his praetorian praefect. In Philip's reign fell the celebration of the thousandth year of Rome, hence our reverse, 'Roma Aeterna' (No. 63). His wife, Otacilia Severa, uses the normal 'Concordia' reverse (No. 64). Philip the younger, associated with his father as prince, appears as 'princeps iuventutis' (No. 65). The very rare silver coin of Iotapianus (No. 66) was struck during a short-lived rebellion against Philip in Syria. The equally rare denarius of Pacatian (No. 67) was struck at Viminacium in Moesia. His rebellion had far-reaching consequences, for Trajan Decius, who was sent by Philip to restore order, was, half against his will, proclaimed Emperor and forced to fight it out with Philip. A victory at Verona in September 249 made him master of the Empire. He gave great honours to the Balkan armies and provinces which had supported him. Here (No. 68, Pl. IV, 3) his reverse shows the 'Genius of the Illyrian army', with patera and standards,

wearing a battlemented crown. On Nos. 69, 70, 71 we see the Empress Herennia Etruscilla and the princes, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian, the princes as 'principes iuventutis', the empress represented by 'Chastity'—the characteristic virtue of the Vestals, to whom she is assimilated. Philip was commonly alleged to be a supporter of the Christians, and in some degree this is probably true. Trajan Decius, representing a stern military reaction against the gentler Eastern dynasty, ordered the first general persecution. Trebonianus Gallus, another Balkan general, succeeded Trajan Decius after he and Herennius had fallen in battle with the Goths. The rumour that Gallus had betrayed Trajan Decius is hardly to be credited, for he associated with himself in the Empire not only his own son Volusian, but also Hostilian, the surviving son of Decius. We see here Gallus (No. 72) and Volusian (No. 73), with reverses of Felicitas and Pietas respectively. The Empire was sorely troubled by war and plague, and there is undoubtedly a propagandist tendency in these reverses. On these two coins the radiate crown of the sun-god is placed on the Emperor's head. Hitherto it has hardly been used on the gold, although appropriated to the Antoninianus in silver and to the dupondius in brass as a special mark. Aemilian, yet another general, who for a few months succeeded Gallus, selects as his patron Hercules, shown here with bow and club, the god of strength and adventure (No. 74). This short reign was ended by Valerian, who is said to have held some sort of share in the Empire with Trajan Decius, and was now pushed forward by his troops in Rhaetia. Valerian and his son Gallienus, whom he made his colleague, had their hands full with wars on the Rhine, on the Danube, and on the Euphrates. Hence the military reverses, 'Virtus' as a warrior standing on No. 75, and as a helmeted head, No. 77. The wife of Valerian, who did not live to see his rule, is honoured as a goddess and is associated with the peacock of Juno (No. 76). Salonina, wife of Gallienus, is shown face to face with her husband on the reverse, a pretty treatment of the 'Concordia' theme (No. 78). The young prince, Saloninus, younger son of Gallienus, appears on No. 79, an aureus of Eastern mintage, as 'princeps iuventutis'. The curiously uncouth coin of Regalian (No. 80) comes from the neighbourhood of Carnuntum (Hainburg), and seems to belong to this reign. He was one of that band of usurpers

who are usually classed together as the 'Thirty Tyrants'. His reverse shows the 'Sun-god', 'Oriens Augg. (Augustorum)', whose worship, first introduced to the West towards A. D. 200, becomes increasingly prominent. Valerian was a man of great ability and judgement. His capture by the Parthians, however, has eclipsed his fame, and his son, Gallienus, who survived him, was not equal to the giant's task that awaited him. In the East the Empire, so far as it was maintained at all against Persia, became subject to Palmyra. In nearly every province governors attempted local risings.

In the West the great province of Gaul, drawing with it Spain and Britain, sought salvation in independence. We see here its Emperors, Postumus (No. 81, Pl. IV, 4), Victorinus (No. 83), Tetricus I and II (Nos. 88, 89), the short-lived Laelian (No. 82) and Marius (No. 84). The movement has a certain tinge of local feeling, but it is in no sense anti-Roman ; it is a secession of a portion of the Empire, not in any sense a nationalist rebellion. Postumus, the able founder, who reigned from A. D. 258–268, is represented by a fine facing portrait : his reverse celebrates his 'Indulgentia', mercy—a quality which, combined with his strength, established his rule firmly. Laelian and Marius both reigned for short periods in A. D. 268. Laelian (No. 82) has an attractive type of Tellus (or Hispania ?) reclining left, holding a branch, with a rabbit beside her, and the descriptive legend, 'Temporum Felicitas'. Marius (No. 84) is mainly concerned with the troops, whose 'loyalty' is represented by the clasped hands. The reverse of Victorinus (No. 83), who succeeded Postumus, A. D. 268–270, shows a winged Victory, in whose features some have recognized his mother whom the historians name Victoria. If the real name of Victorinus's mother was Victorina, it would be most natural to represent her under the guise of the personification 'Victory'. Tetricus I and his son (Nos. 88 and 89), who ruled quietly from A. D. 270 to 273, and then readily submitted to Aurelian's compulsion and returned to obedience to Rome, have the reverse type, Spes, a dynastic type looking mainly to the succession.

In A. D. 268, when the Empire appeared to be tottering to its fall, a group of able soldiers put Gallienus out of the way and made Claudius Emperor. His reverse, 'Victoriae Aug(usti)', is a record of the great defeat of the Goths, which has given him name and fame (No. 85). When Claudius died of plague in

A. D. 270, his successor, Aurelian, continued his work and re-united the Empire. His reverse, 'Concordia' (No. 86), suggests his work of reconciliation. Aurelian died at the hands of his own troops, and on his death there was a break of weeks, if not months, during which the Senate deliberated on the choice of a new Emperor. During this time the government was conducted in the name of the Empress Severina. Her reverse, 'Concordiae Militum' (No. 87), indirectly rebukes the lack of discipline which had led to Aurelian's death. Tacitus (No. 90), the choice of the senate, and his brother Florian (No. 91) enjoyed but short terms of office : they had not the confidence or affection of the army. The reverse of Tacitus, 'Romae Aeternae', attests the temporary re-emergence of the capital ; the reverse of Florian prays for a 'Victoria Perpetua', in sad contrast to the few weeks of his actual rule. On the death of these two princes the rule returned to the soldiers. Probus (No. 92, Pl. IV, 5), Carus (No. 93), Carinus (No. 94), Numerian (No. 96), were all military Emperors of the type of Claudius II and Aurelian. Probus, who ruled from A. D. 275–282, has some right to the boast of his reverse, 'Pacator orbis', showing him extending a protecting hand and the nations flocking beneath it (No. 92). Carus (A. D. 281–282) has a Victory on globe (No. 93), Carinus a Hercules as representing the valour of the Emperor (No. 94). The reverse of Numerian (No. 96), Salus with her snake, suggests anxiety about the Emperor's health. Magnia Urbica (No. 95), who by her reverse, 'Venus Victrix', celebrates one aspect of the Empress's position, is only known from coins ; she is generally supposed to be the wife of Carinus. Julian (No. 97), a pretender to the throne in A. D. 284, just after Numerian's death, claims by his reverse, 'Libertas Publica', to be a constitutionalist—that is to say, he presumably protests against the absolutism into which the Empire had drifted. With Diocletian we reach the beginning of a new age. His first years of government and of coinage represent the continuation of the period we have been discussing, of a gradual but sure military recovery from a period of something near collapse. Diocletian was able to complete the external restoration and then had time and energy to devote to the less hopeful task of restoring the exhausted Empire within.

Diocletian's reform was actually delayed till the thirteenth year of his reign, A. D. 296, but it is convenient to treat him and his colleagues as belonging to the new, rather than to the

old system. The disasters and confusions of the third century had reduced the coinage to chaos. Diocletian completed the work of reform which Aurelian had attempted with imperfect success. He again struck an aureus at a fixed weight—at first 1/70th, later 1/60th of a pound ; he reintroduced a silver coin of the weight of Nero's denarius ; he struck a new coin, the follis, in bronze with a coating of silver, probably worth 1/40th of the gold piece. Constantine modified the reforms of Diocletian in many ways. His chief change that concerns us here was the introduction of the solidus, a gold coin weighing 1/72nd of a pound. Diocletian associated with himself as joint Emperor the hardy soldier, Maximian ; Diocletian brought the wisdom and providence of Jupiter (cp. reverse of No. 98, Pl. IV, 6), Maximian the strength and devotion of Hercules (cp. reverse of No. 99). In the East, Diocletian was assisted by the Caesar, Galerius (No. 104) ; his reverse, 'Mars Propugnator', Mars hastening to the attack, is a fair symbol of this rough but effective soldier. The coin of Valeria, his wife (No. 105), was struck about A. D. 308 at Nicomedia (Ismid, mint-mark SMN)[1] : the reverse shows Venus Victrix. Maximian in the West had the support of the Caesar, Constantius I Chlorus (No. 102) ; the snake-footed giant on his reverse, at whom 'Jupiter Fulgerator' is hurling a thunderbolt, is the spirit of rebellion in Britain. The British rebels, Carausius and Allectus, meet us on Nos. 100 (Pl. IV, 7) and 101. Both coins are of the mint of London (mint-mark ML) ; Carausius appeals on his reverse to Jupiter, his preserver, Allectus to the spirit of peace. The British rebellion lasted from A. D. 286–296. It was based on the command of the Narrow Seas and, as long as the able Carausius lived, defied the Roman attempts to quell it. Allectus, who murdered his master and usurped his place, was unable to resist the resolute attacks of Constantius in A. D. 296. The coin of Helena, wife of Constantius and mother of Constantine the Great (No. 103), was actually struck about A. D. 324, in the reign of her son : the reverse shows the personified 'Security of the State'. It is to be noted that the imperial coin now regularly bears a mint-mark denoting its place of issue. Thus No. 98 was struck at Nicomedia, No. 99 at Rome (mint-mark PROM),[2] No. 102 at Treviri (Trèves, mint-mark PTR),

[1] SM in the mint-mark regularly stands for 'Sacra Moneta', and is followed by the initial of the mint.

[2] P, S, T and similar letters in the mint-mark denote first, second, third *officina*, etc.

No. 103 at Antioch (mint-mark ANT), No. 104 at Siscia (Sissek, mint-mark *SIS). In A. D. 305 the two Augusti retired, the two Caesars succeeded them, and new Caesars were appointed, Severus II (No. 106) for the West, Licinius (No. 109) for the East. This system was, however, unstable. Maxentius (No. 108) seized Rome ; and when, on Constantius I's death, Severus succeeded him, the troops in Britain asserted the claims of Constantine. In the East, too, Maximin II Daza (No. 107) claimed recognition as a Caesar. A series of wars led first to the joint-rule of Constantine I in the West and Licinius I in the East, finally to the reunion of the Empire under Constantine I in A. D. 324. His sons, already Caesars in his lifetime, succeeded him on his death, and the house of Constantine dominated the Empire till the death of Julian in A. D. 363. We turn to the reverse types. Severus (No. 106), striking at Nicomedia, borrows the type of Hercules from Maximian, Maximin II (No. 107) is represented by a coin of Treviri, with Salus feeding her snake on the reverse. Maxentius (No. 108, Pl. IV, 8) has a remarkable facing portrait and the she-wolf and twins on reverse, with the legend 'the happiness of the days of our Emperor' ; the mint is Ostia (mint-mark POST), a new foundation of Maxentius. Licinius I (No. 109), on a coin of Serdica (Sofia, mint-mark SER), avows his devotion to Jupiter his Preserver ; the same god is represented on a remarkable coin of his son Licinius II (No. 116), struck at Nicomedia after his appointment as Caesar in A. D. 317. No. 111 is a multiple aureus of Constantine I struck at Nicomedia. The reverse illustrates the 'Glory of the Romans' by a figure of Roma Victrix, enthroned : on the obverse the upturned eyes of the Emperor suggest the attitude of prayer. Since the battle of the Milvian Bridge in A. D. 312, Constantine I had been an open supporter of the Christians, and there is some reason to believe that he had personal leanings towards the faith. His father, Constantius I, a worshipper of the 'invincible Sun-god', had already shown a kindly disposition towards the Christians ; despite bitter rivalry there was probably a close inner relationship between the Christianity and the Mithraism of the day. Fausta, wife of Constantine I (No. 112, Pl. IV, 9), on a coin struck at Sirmium (Mitrovitz, mint-mark SIRM), is represented by a reverse that acclaims the Empress and her infant sons as the 'Hope of the State'. Crispus (No. 113), eldest son of Constantine I,

made Caesar in A. D. 317, appears as 'Princeps Iuventutis' with captives seated left and right of him : his mint is Aquileia (mint-mark AQ). Constantine the younger is represented by a Victory, on a coin of the new capital, Constantinopolis, completed in A. D. 330 (No. 115) ; a similar coin (No. 114) shows Delmatius, nephew of Constantine, left by him to share in the inheritance, but murdered by the troops soon after the old Emperor's death. It was the younger sons who really succeeded to the Empire, Constantius II in the East, Constans in the West. Crispus had been put to death by his father as early as A. D. 326, and Constantine II fell in battle with his brother Constans in A. D. 338. Constans is represented by a coin of Thessalonica (TES—Salonica) with Victory on reverse (No. 116), Constantius II by a multiple aureus of Aquileia, where the 'Valour of the Emperor Constantius ' is depicted by the Emperor standing with the imperial standard and spear, while a Persian captive looks up to him (No. 117). The standard is of the kind called the labarum, bearing on its flag the first letters of the name of Christ, X P, ☧. The Empire is now definitely Christian, and Christian symbols more and more invade the coinage. In A. D. 350 the rebellion of Magnentius and his brother Decentius in Gaul cut short the career of Constans. Magnentius and Decentius on coins of Treviri (Nos. 119, 120) boast of the 'Victory of the Emperor' as implying the 'Liberty of the Romans'. On No. 118 we see Vetranio hailed at Siscia (Sissek) as 'Saviour of the State'. When Constantius moved West to avenge Constans against Magnentius, Vetranio in Illyricum was forced by his troops to set up independent authority, but found a speedy opportunity to return to his allegiance and secured Constantius's pardon. At about the same time, Constantius II chose his cousin, Constantius, known as Constantius Gallus, to assist him as his Caesar in the East. No. 121, a coin of his struck at Antioch, shows Rome and Constantinople enthroned, supporting a shield on which are inscribed the prince's 'vota quinquennalia', while the legend describes the scene as 'the Glory of the State'. Some months after the disgrace and death of Gallus, who failed to deserve his high position, his younger brother Julian was sent by Constantius II to Gaul with the title of Caesar and a commission to restore order in that country. His brilliant successes led to jealousy, finally to armed rivalry with his senior : only the death of Constantius

in A. D. 361 averted civil war. Julian then succeeded and ruled long enough to prove his military valour against the Persians (cp. the reverse of an Antioch solidus, 'the Valour of the Roman Army', (No. 122, Pl. IV, 10), and to earn the title of the 'Apostate' by his attempts to re-establish a reformed Paganism. Jovian (No. 123), who reigned for a short time after Julian's death in the field, strikes at Constantinople (mint-mark CONSP) with the type of Roma and Constantinople, already noted (No. 121), but with a modified legend suited to the troubled times, 'the Security of the State'. Jovian's reign was but a brief episode, and the capable brothers, Valentinian I and Valens, succeeded him. The solidus of Valentinian I of Treviri (TROBT,[1] No. 124, Pl. IV, 11) shows us a new reverse which became very popular, the 'Victory of the Augusti', symbolized by a Victory crowning two Emperors, enthroned and holding the orb between them. Valens is represented by a coin of Arelate—Constantina (Arles, mint-mark KONST, No. 125), the reverse of which shows Valens holding Victory on globe and labarum, as 'Restorer of the State'. Procopius (No. 126) was a last representative of the house of Constantine I, who rebelled for a moment at Constantinople; his reverse shows the 'Security of the State' symbolized by an armed man. Gratian, son of Valentinian I, first created Augustus in A. D. 367, and then succeeding his father on his death in A. D. 375, strikes at Constantinople (No. 127), with the reverse 'Concordia Auggg.',[2] the towered genius of Constantinople seated above a prow, holding a spear and globe. Gratian's younger brother, Valentinian II, became Emperor in A. D. 378: we see here a coin of Treviri with the Victory reverse already described (No. 128, cp. No. 124). Theodosius I, the able soldier whom Gratian called in to the defence of the Empire, strikes at Constantinople the 'Concordia Auggg.'[2] type of Gratian (No. 129, cp. No. 127). The reverse of Theodosius's wife, Aelia Flaccilla (No. 130), has a definitely Christian character; Victory inscribes a cross on her shield, and the act is described as the 'Salvation of the State'. Magnus Maximus and his son Flavius Victor, rebels in Gaul and Britain, who defeated and killed Gratian and threatened the security of Valentinian II, till Theodosius I came to the rescue and destroyed

[1] OB denotes *obryzum*, pure gold: perhaps also 72 in Greek numerals, the number of solidi to a pound. [2] i. e. Augustorum trium.

them, strike with the Victory reverse already described (Nos. 131 (Pl. IV, 12), 132 ; cp. Nos. 124, 128). The coin of Maximus (No. 131, Pl. IV, 12) was struck at London, which at this time bore the name of Augusta. The Victory reverse of Victor (No. 132) is explained by the legend BONO REI-PVBLICE NATI ; the Emperor and his heir are 'born to ensure the common weal'. Eugenius, the elderly rhetorician who was raised to the purple in A. D. 392, strikes the same Victory reverse at the mint of Mediolanum (MD—Milan), which he held for a short time after the death of Valentinian II (No. 153).

With the death of Theodosius I in A. D. 395 and the division of the Empire between his sons, Arcadius and Honorius, we open the last chapter in the history of ancient Rome. The division of the Empire into East and West is now permanent and fatal. More and more the two sections are drawn asunder, to follow their individual destinies. While the Western Empire collapses in A. D. 476 before the assaults of the barbarians, the Eastern Empire weathers the storm and, still Roman in name, if not in nature, moves forward to a long and not inglorious phase of its history. We take first the coinage of the dying Empire of the West, and then turn to the Eastern Empire and trace its coinage running on into the Byzantine.

In this age of political and social decline, art did not escape the general fate. It becomes stiff and formal even in portraiture and relies for such effects as it can still produce on stiff and ceremonial ornament. The tendency to stereotype reverses, which had already appeared in the late fourth century, sets in with renewed force. It is hardly rash to see in it a sign of the mental and spiritual lassitude which had overtaken the whole administration. Honorius is shown here (No. 134) with the reverse CONCORDIA AVGG., Roma seated facing, holding spear and globe and setting her foot on a prow. The type is an early one of his long reign (A. D. 393–423), struck before the death of his father in A. D. 395 : the three 'Augusti' (AVGGG.) are Theodosius I, Arcadius, and Honorius. With Constantius III (No. 135) we come to a famous fifth-century type, VICTORIA AVGGG., the Emperor standing to right, holding labarum and Victory on globe and setting his foot on a captive : the Christian Emperor treads down his enemies. The mint-mark RV stands for Ravenna, the city of the marshes, whither the late Emperors withdrew for safety, when no Italian

town in open country was longer safe. Galla Placidia (No. 136) had a romantic career. Carried off by Alaric in A. D. 410 and married to his successor Ataulf, in A. D. 414, she was later returned to the court of her brother, Honorius, and led, unwillingly, to marry Constantius III in A. D. 421. Soon afterwards she quarrelled with Honorius and fled to Theodosius II, who later restored her and her son Valentinian III to Italy and set him on the throne. The coin shown here was struck for her by Theodosius II in Constantinople : the 'Victory' reverse, with legend VOT· XX MVLT· XXX, refers to the vows undertaken for Theodosius II. The long reign of Honorius did not pass undisturbed by seditions. Constantine III (No. 137) was proclaimed in Britain in A. D. 407, seized Gaul and maintained himself till A. D. 411. He used the 'Emperor' type, already described (No. 136). His mint LD is Lugdunum (Lyons). Jovinus (No. 138) rebelled in Gaul, in the year of the fall of Constantine III ; he maintained himself by Gothic aid till A. D. 413, but then fell. He again uses the 'Emperor' type : his mint is Arelate. Priscus Attalus was a Roman noble, whom Alaric in A. D. 409 set up as a puppet Emperor in Rome ; he was put down by his maker in A. D. 412, but enjoyed a second short spell of Empire in A. D. 414. The coin shown here (No. 139, Pl. IV, 13) was struck in A. D. 409 at Rome ; there is a tragic irony in the reverse, INVICTA ROMA AETERNA, Roma seated enthroned on her throne with its lions' heads, holding Victory and spear. Such optimism, after the first sack of the city since Brennus, is something other than the optimism of high courage. Johannes (No. 140), who again strikes the 'Emperor' reverse at Ravenna (mint-mark RV), was a secretary of Honorius and usurped the throne at his death. He was not recognized by the Eastern Empire, and in A. D. 425 was put to death by the armed forces of Theodosius II. Valentinian III (No. 141), the infant son of Galla Placidia, succeeded him. His disastrous reign lasted from A. D. 425–455. Until A. D. 438 he was under his mother's guardianship ; from then until his death he played a weak and contemptible part in a state that had outgrown the powers of any but great princes. His reverse, struck at Ravenna, shows a new development of the 'Emperor' type. The Emperor now stands facing, and sets his foot on a serpent with a human head. We are forced to think of St. Michael and the dragon, and to conceive of spiritual rather than tem-

poral foes. Eudoxia, who is displayed here in jewelled magnificence (No. 142), was the daughter of Theodosius II, and married Valentinian III in A. D. 437. The type VOT· XXX MVLT· XXXX, struck at Rome, showing the Imperial pair side by side, celebrates the vows taken for her father Theodosius II in the year of the marriage. Honoria, sister of Valentinian III (No. 143), is famous in history as the Roman princess who offered her hand in marriage to Attila the Hun. This coin was apparently struck for her when quite a child, at the time of the restoration of her mother and brother to Italy. BONO REIPVBLICAE suggests that the Imperial family is destined to preserve the commonwealth. Petronius Maximus (No. 144) murdered Valentinian III to avenge a private wrong, and forced the widow, Eudoxia, to marry him. She called in Gaiseric the Vandal to avenge her, and Petronius fell a victim to the popular fury. Avitus (No. 145), sent by Petronius as general to Gaul in A. D. 455, on news of his death, assumed the purple and took up the cause of Rome against Gaiseric. In A. D. 456 he was forced by his own general Ricimer to abdicate, and ended his days as a bishop. Majorian (No. 146) became Emperor in A. D. 457 by the aid of the general Ricimer, and, after four years of not inglorious rule, during which he fought against the Vandals and the Visigoths, was murdered by Ricimer's orders in A. D. 451. Libius Severus (No. 147) reigned for four years as puppet Emperor of Ricimer. The real power of the Empire had now passed into the hands of the great military chiefs, who were usually barbarians : the Emperor, the legitimate civil authority, was liable to be superseded at a moment's notice. That the violent and unpolitic soldiers who abused their power were at the same time wrecking the Empire, need scarcely be observed. All these Emperors used the same 'facing Emperor' reverse. The mints are already familiar, Rome (mint-mark RM) for Petronius Maximus and Libius Severus, Ravenna (mint-mark RV) for Majorian, Arelate (mint-mark AR) for Avitus. Anthemius (No. 148), a distinguished general of the East, was sent by Leo I to govern the West at the express request of the Romans. He, too, failed to maintain permanent good relations with Ricimer, and was killed in A. D. 472. His reverse, SALVS REIPVBLICAE, shows Anthemius and Leo side by side : this was the last time that East and West stood in close alliance. Eufemia (No. 149), who married Anthemius, was daughter of

the Emperor of the East, Marcian. Her reverse, a Victory with a cross, is of Eastern origin, though here it bears the mint-mark of Rome. Olybrius (No. 150, Pl. IV, 14), whom Ricimer made Emperor in A. D. 472, died a natural death after a short reign ; the king-maker and unmaker, Ricimer, died before him. His remarkable reverse, the Cross, SALVS MVNDI, is almost the first which elevates the chief Christian symbol to the full dignity of a reverse type. Glycerius (No. 151) reigned for a short time after the death of Olybrius, until forced to abdicate by Julius Nepos (No. 152), the candidate of Leo, who reigned precariously for a few years at Salonae in Dalmatia. Finally, Romulus Augustus (No. 153), the young son of Orestes, general of the armies in Gaul, reigned for about a year until Odovacar rose and killed his father and drove him into retirement. Glycerius uses a type of Emperor holding cross and Victory similar to that used in the early years of the fourth century. Julius Nepos uses the Victory of Eastern pattern. Of Romulus Augustulus we have here a tremissis, the third of a solidus, which was the traditional type of that denomination. Of the barbarian coinages which followed the fall of the Western Empire, we shall catch a glimpse a little later.

We turn to trace the fortunes of the Eastern Empire from the accession of Arcadius. Arcadius (No. 154) is shown with a reverse VICTORIA AVGG., where he is seated as a boy beside his father ; the date of the coin is A. D. 392–393. His wife, Aelia Eudoxia (No. 156), uses the reverse SALVS REIPVBLICAE, Victory seated right, inscribing ☧ on shield. Theodosius II, son of Arcadius, who reigned from 408 to 450, is represented by an early solidus, with legend CONCORDIA AVGG. and Roma seated facing with spear and Victory. Marcian and Leo I (457–474) both struck at Ravenna, with the Western type of the Emperor facing (cp. Nos. 157, 159, Pl. V, 1). Pulcheria (No. 158) has on her reverse a Victory and the VOT· XX MVLT· XXX of Theodosius II, for whom she governed during a large part of his reign. On his death she gave her hand to Marcian, and then, three years later, died before him. Aelia Verina (No. 160), wife of Leo I, has the Victory with cross on reverse, and Leo II, grandson of Leo I, has a Victory on his tremissis (No. 161). Zeno, who succeeded Leo I and reigned till 491, again uses the reverse, Victory and cross (No. 162). Ariadne, wife of Zeno (No. 163),

has a tremissis with the conventional cross. Basiliscus and his wife, Zenonis (Nos. 164, 165), enjoyed rule in Constantinople in 476–477, in rebellion against Zeno. With Zeno's successor, Anastasius I, if not earlier, the Byzantine coinage may be said to commence, the West being abandoned more or less completely and irrevocably to barbarians. Owning only normal allegiance to the Roman name, Rome in the East sets herself to a new limited set of problems of her own. Anastasius I instituted a reform of the coinage which was complete as regards silver and copper, but which left untouched the standard gold piece, the solidus, 1/72nd of a pound in weight. The solidus was now divided theoretically into 6,000 nummia. The smallest denomination struck was, however, the 5 nummia piece in bronze. Above this the 10, 20, 40 (at some mints and places other multiples) were also struck in bronze. In silver were struck the *siliqua* (250 nummia), and occasionally the *miliarense* (500). The reverse types at first suffer no change. Anastasius I and Justin I (Nos. 166, 167) both use the Victory with cross : the great Justinian I (527–565) has a variant (No. 168, Pl. V, 2), a Victory with spear and cross on globe, and his successor, Justin II (No. 169), while keeping the legend VICTORIA AVGGG., places, instead of the winged Victory, a helmeted female figure on his reverse. Tiberius Constantine (A. D. 578–582) introduces a type destined to be famous, the cross potent, or cross set at the head of steps ; the 'Victoria' legend is retained (No. 170). Maurice Tiberius (A. D. 582–602) and Phocas (A. D. 602–610) go back to Justinian's type (Nos. 171, 172). Heraclius (A. D. 610–641) and his son, Constans II (641–668), again use the cross potent (Nos. 173, Pl. V, 3, 174). Constantine IV (668–685) associated with himself in his earliest issues his brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, who appear left and right of the cross on the reverse (No. 175). Justinian II and the pretender, Tiberius Apsimarus, who ousted him, both retain the cross potent (Nos. 176, 177). Justinian II, returning from exile in 705, struck for himself and his young son Tiberius, and introduced for the first time the bust of the Saviour on the reverse, with legend 'Lord Jesus Christ King of Kings' (No. 178, Pl. V, 4). Three short-lived Emperors, who succeeded him A. D. 711–717, Philippicus Bardanes, Artemius Anastasius II, and Theodosius III of Adramyttium, all use the cross potent (Nos. 179–81). If we pause for a moment at this point, where the great

Isaurian dynasty of Leo III begins, we shall have to look back on an epoch of stress and change, hardly reflected to any extent in a coinage that clings to asseverations of victory, accompanied by a scanty stock of religious symbols and types. The great conquests of Justinian I in the West, the heroic defence of the East under Heraclius, these and many other things are mirrored in the coinage by the opening or closing of mints, but find little place in the types. Coinage had now become more than ever formal and conventional. In the elaboration of the details of the portrait and costume of the Emperor, who is now uniformly presented in the most honourable position, full-face, we find an element that may almost be called ritualistic. The image of the Saviour on No. 178 (Pl. V, 4), however, does bring us directly in contact with a great religious question, the quarrel between the Icon-worshippers and the Iconoclasts. The complete final victory of the Icon-worshippers will be abundantly evident from the later coinage.

The reign of Leo III marks a genuine revival in the Byzantine Empire. The great repulse of the Moslems before Constantinople, 717–718, renewed confidence and Leo's reforms in civil and military matters reinvigorated the administration. The reign of Leo and his successor was the great age of the Iconoclasts, who for the time drove the Icon-worshippers before them. The first type of Leo, then, is the cross potent (No. 182). But soon after this a new and ingenious method of protecting the reverse from religious emblems, that might be offensive, was found. Reverse as well as obverse was devoted to a portrait. Thus Constantine V, son and successor of Leo, strikes with the portrait of his father on the other side of the coin (No. 183): the final letters of Leo's legend, PAMVL, denote 'perpetuo Augustus—"multa-many" times'. On No. 184 (Pl. V, 5) we see Leo IV and his son Constantine VI on obverse, Leo III and Constantine V on reverse—an interesting dynastic reverse covering three generations. The letters VSSESON after the name of Leon IV have been read as *υἱὸς καὶ ἧσσων*—'the son and the less'—somewhat doubtfully. Constantine VI is defined as 'O NEOS 'the Younger': Leo III is PAP, 'Grandfather', and Constantine V PATHR,[1] 'Father'. Constantine VI, who succeeded his

[1] The Latin script actually used on coins is, from an early date, interspersed with Greek forms: from about the eighth century a curious blend of Latin and Greek is found.

father in 780, ruled under the tutelage of his mother Irene until 797 (No. 185). On his deposition in 797, his ambitious but incompetent mother ruled alone. She enjoyed to the full the pride and pomp of Empire ; but she had to purchase peace from the Arabs and to accept the crowning of Charles the Great by the Pope as Roman Emperor of the West. Hitherto the Eastern Empire had never formerly renounced its rights, inherited from Rome, to the whole of the Roman Empire, and, under Justinian, had actually reasserted a considerable portion of them with success. Irene's coins, curiously enough, bear her portrait on both sides (No. 186). The practice of filling both sides of the coin with Imperial busts continued under Nicephorus I and Stauracius (803–811, No. 187)—the prince here bears the title ΔЄSPOTHS as a definite mark of second rank, below BASILЄVS, 'King'—under Leo V and Constantine (813–820, No. 188), under Theophilus (829–842) : the latter is shown on No. 189, with his father, Michael II, and his son, Constantine, on reverse. Michael III, who succeeded his father as a mere child, appears on coins with his sister Thecla, while on the other side is his mother Theodora (No. 190) his guardian, with the title of ΔЄSPVNA—apparently corresponding to ΔЄSPOTHS (see above, No. 187).

Basil I, the grand chamberlain of Michael, after the murder of his master in 867, opened another era of vigour and development. His line, often carried on only on the female side, held the imperial throne with but few intermissions till the accession of Isaac I in 1057. No. 191 (Pl. V, 6) shows Basil and his son Constantine, with a seated figure of Christ on the reverse, No. 192, Basil on obverse, with his sons, Leo VI and Alexander on reverse. The reappearance of the figure of Christ on the reverse marks the definite triumph of the Icon-worshippers, after a fight waged with varying results over more than a century and a half. The same reverse is kept both by Leo VI and Constantine VII (No. 193) and by Constantine VII and his father-in-law, Romanus I (No. 194). Christ is described as 'Iesus Christus Rex Regnantium'. On No. 195 Romanus I appears on the obverse crowned by Christ : Constantine himself is relegated to the reverse, which he shares with Christopher, son of Romanus I. On No. 196 Constantine VII is associated with his son Romanus II. After the death of Romanus II in 963, two distinguished

soldiers, Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969) and John I Zimisces (969–976) held the throne—less, however, as usurpers than as stewards for the young heirs, Basil and Constantine. Nicephorus actually associates Basil with him on his coins (No. 197) : John, who was noted for his piety, places on the obverse a figure of the Virgin crowning him, with the legend 'Mother of God, help John the Prince' (No. 198, Pl. V, 7). On the death of John, the two young Emperors succeeded and ruled in harmony from 976–1025. Constantine was a gentle and retiring person, Basil II a fierce and ascetic warrior known in history for his greatest exploit as 'Bulgaroctonos'. They appear together on coins, with the 'Jesus Christ King of Kings' reverse (No. 199). From this reign, or perhaps a little earlier, we note a change in fashion in the gold coin : while remaining at something near its old weight it becomes a larger, thinner, and flatter coin : this later gold piece is generally known by the name of 'nomisma'. Up to this time the solidus had remained substantially the same throughout : the only variation consisted in the occasional appearance of small thick pieces beside the more usual ones. Romanus III, who succeeded Constantine VIII in 1028, reissued the type of John I, with the legend 'Mother of God, help Romanus' (No. 200). Michael IV (1034–1041) strikes with the 'King of Kings' reverse (No. 201), as does Constantine IX (1042–1055, No. 202). The stars on either side of his head have not been explained. Romanus, Michael, and Constantine IX were successive husbands of Zoe, heiress of Constantine VIII. Zoe died in 1050, and Constantine IX in 1055 ; Zoe's sister Theodora then ruled for a year, and struck with a standing figure of Christ on reverse (No. 203). Michael VI, an old general who only held the throne for one year, 1056–1057, brings a new type to the reverse, that of the Virgin praying—a type usually identified with the local cult of the Virgin 'Panagia Blachernitissa' (No. 204). Isaac I Comnenus, a member of a great noble family of Asia Minor, offended his contemporaries by showing himself with drawn sword in hand, as though he ruled by his own might (No. 205). Here we meet for the first time that 'cupped' or 'scyphate' fabric, which was to become normal during the whole of the later period. Constantine X Ducas, a noble of Cappadocia, who succeeded Isaac and ruled from 1059 to 1067, has an obverse like that of Michael VI, representing him standing holding

labarum and cross on globe (No. 206). Romanus IV, a distinguished soldier who married Constantine's widow, Eudocia, and ruled for her and her sons, 1067–1071, is shown with Eudocia on the obverse crowned by Christ, while on the reverse appear his three stepsons Michael VII, Constantine, and Andronicus (No. 207). Of these boys, the eldest, Michael VII, ruled for seven years on the death of Romanus; he issues a coin (No. 208), very similar indeed to that of Michael IV, with Christ seated on reverse (No. 208; cp. 201). A second coin of his (No. 209) in the thick fabric, which is still occasionally found, shows him with his Empress Maria and the Virgin on reverse, with legend 'Mother of God, help'. Nicephorus III Botaniates (1078–1081), a pretender who ousted Michael VII, strikes with the first type of Michael VII (No. 210).

The great days of the Byzantine Empire were by this time over. Apart from internal troubles and troubles in the Balkans, the Seljuk Turks were now threatening the very existence of the Empire. Under the house of the Comneni the Empire found, if not an entire renewal, at least some haven of peace and security. Alexius I was a shrewd and capable ruler; he restricted his ambitions, trusted as much or more to diplomacy than to force, but within these limits succeeded in attaining most of his objects. He handled the difficult situation created by the Crusades with great skill. The coin of Alexius shown here (No. 211, Pl. V, 9) has the Emperor standing on the obverse, crowned by the hand of God, and Christ seated on the reverse with legend 'Lord, help' (KE ROH⊕EI). It is of good gold, but the nomisma of Alexius was often struck base. John II (1118–1143) retains the reverse type of his father; on his obverse he is crowned by the Virgin the 'Mother of God' (No. 212). Manuel I (1143–1180), a great knight and soldier, strikes with the obverse type of Alexius I and bust of Christ on the reverse (No. 213); the Emperor is described as 'born in the purple'. Andronicus I (1183–1185) is represented crowned by Christ on the obverse, while on the reverse is the Virgin seated, holding a medallion of Christ (No. 214). Isaac II Angelus (1185–1195) is crowned by St. Michael on the obverse—a reference to the name 'Angelus'; his reverse is that of Andronicus I (No. 215).

Alexius III(1195–1203) was the last of the weak Emperors, under whom the Empire tottered to its fall in 1204, when the

warriors of the Fourth Crusade and the Venetians took the capital. His obverse shows him holding a cross with St. Constantine ; on the reverse is Christ seated with hand raised in blessing (No. 216). While the Latin Emperors held Constantinople the Greek Empire was maintained at Nicaea by such able Emperors as John Vatatzes (1122–1154) and Theodore II (1254–1258). Both use the same types, Emperor crowned by the Virgin on obverse, and Christ seated on reverse (Nos. 217 (Pl. V, 11), 218). The Empire restored by Michael VIII Palaeologus (1261–1282) was never more than a shadow of its former greatness and the coinage reflects the decline. The art is crude, the coinage is in many points assimilated to the Venetian, the volume of coinage declines. Michael VIII on his obverse kneels to right, supported by St. Michael to be crowned by Christ ; his reverse shows the Virgin with a medallion of Christ (No. 219, Pl. V, 10). Andronicus II (1282–1328) used another reverse of his father, the 'Mother of God' facing within the circuit of the walls of Constantinople ; his obverse differs in the omission of St. Michael (No. 220). After 1295, Michael IX appears with his father on the obverse (No. 221). Andronicus III (1328–1341) has apparently no gold : our coin (No. 222) is only silver-gilt. It shows the Emperor with St. Demetrius on obverse, Christ seated on reverse : the fabric of this coin departs from the later Byzantine and suggests rather Italy. Manuel II Palaeologus (No. 223) again shows the Virgin in the city on reverse and the Emperor standing on obverse. He was the last Emperor to make a serious attempt to reform the coinage. His successors issued only silver and copper, and that but scantily. Constantine XI, the gallant defender of Constantinople till its fall in 1453, has left no coins that can be identified. The final military disaster was no sudden bolt from the blue ; it crowned a long period of more and more hopeless decay.

We round off our survey with a glance at a few coinages too closely linked with the coinage of the Eastern and Western Empires to be separated from them. The barbarians in the West in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. conquered the Empire externally, but succumbed to it internally. They had no native culture that could vie with the Roman and, so far as they rose above pure barbarism, they rose on Roman foundations. Their coinage, too, bears a Roman stamp throughout, and only now and then attains even the begin-

nings of independence. We begin with the Vandals, who passed through Gaul and Spain to Africa and founded an Empire that stood for more than a century (429–533). Their gold is entirely imitated from the Roman : No. 224 is an imitation of a solidus of Valentinian III, distinguishable by a peculiar style, struck under the great Gaiseric (428–477). No. 225 is a bronze coin, struck at an uncertain date, but after the capture of Carthage in 439. On the obverse is a standing figure of the Vandal king, with the mint-name Karthago : on the reverse is the horse's head—the badge of Carthage—and XLII, denoting that the piece was worth 42 nummia (No. 225). Later rulers placed their names on their coins. Gunthamund (484–496) and Hilderic (523–530) both strike as 'Kings' ; No. 226 is a 100 denarii piece of the former, No. 227 a 50 denarii piece of the latter ; the reverse of Hilderic shows a standing figure of Carthage, with the legend, FELIX KARTG. We turn next to Odovacar, the overthrower of the Western Empire, and the Ostrogoths, who succeeded him. Odovacar himself, for the most part, imitated the gold of Zeno, but on No. 228, a small silver coin, we have his name FL ODOVAC and his monogram on the reverse. The great Theodoric, who overthrew Odovacar in 493 and established the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy, imitates the solidus of Anastasius I, but adds his own monogram, ' ' (No. 229). The fine bronze coin of Theodahad (No. 230) was perhaps struck when the king visited Rome in 536 ; the mark of the Senate, S·C·, reappears for a moment in its historic place on the reverse ; the legend accompanying the Victory type, VICTORIA PRINCIPVM, has been thought to refer to Theodahad and the queen of Athalaric, Amalasuntha ; if so, the coin must be a year or two earlier.

Between 494 and 534 the city of Rome issued quasi-autonomous bronze coins, with obverse, INVICTA ROMA, bust helmeted to right, reverse, eagle to left, and XL—forty nummia (No. 233). In Nos. 231–2 we see half-siliquae of Witigis (536–540) and Baduila (541–552) ; in each case the reverse bears the name of the Ostrogothic king, while the obverse is borrowed from a Byzantine Emperor, in the first case, Justinian I, in the second Anastasius I ; Baduila (better known as Totila), fighting for his kingdom against Justinian, refused to use coins with his effigy, and went back to his predecessor.

The Lombards came later and stayed longer than the Ostro-

goths (568–774). Of the earlier kings we have only imitations of Byzantine coins, easily recognizable by a curious wooden style. In No. 234 we see one such imitation of a tremissis of Justin II, struck under Alboin (568–572) or Cleph (572–574). The tremissis remained from first to last the favourite Lombard denomination. The first Lombard king to inscribe his name on his coins was Cunincpert (688–700); he has the interesting reverse of St. Michael with the saint's name added (No. 235). A tremissis of later pattern was struck by Desiderius (757–774) at Lucca, with cross and royal name on obverse, star and FLAVIA LVCA on reverse (No. 236). Beneventum, one of the four great duchies founded by the Lombards, has a coinage that runs from 706 to about 870. The chief coin is an imitation of the Byzantine in a peculiar style, with grotesque portraits. In No. 237 we have a solidus of Grimoald III (788–806), with his portrait and bare name on obverse. A later solidus, of Sicardus (832–839), has reverse legend, VICTORV· PRINCI·, the Victory of the Prince, with the cross potent (No. 238).

Before leaving the West we have to glance at the coinages of Spain and Gaul. No. 239 is a tremissis, probably struck by the Suevi in Spain in the fifth century; on the obverse is a royal head and the remarkable legend LATINA MVNITA BENE, on the reverse a cross in a wreath, set over a voided cross. No. 240 is an imitation of a solidus of Anastasius I, struck by the Visigoths in Gaul in the early sixth century. Later we find tremisses that commemorate their rule in Spain, with royal portrait and legend on obverse and mint-name on reverse; Nos. 241, 242 show specimens of Recaredo (586–601) and Wamba (672–680) respectively. A solidus of Zeno (No. 243) is attributed with probability to the Burgundians, a solidus of Anastasius I (No. 244), on similar grounds, to the Merovingians. Later in the Merovingian series royal names and portraits appear, Clotaire I (584–628) and Dagobert I (622–638)—Nos. 245 (Pl. V, 8), 246. No. 245 was struck at Massalia (Marseilles, mint-mark M A), No. 246 at Arelate. No. 247 is an imitation of a solidus of Mauricius Tiberius, struck at Marseilles. No. 248 shows the favourite Merovingian denomination, the tremissis: it is a town issue of Châlon-sur-Saône, bearing no royal name, but only name of town and moneyer. No. 249 is an isolated tremissis, certainly barbarous and perhaps of more northerly origin: it bears a runic legend.

Finally, turning East, we show a nomisma (No. 250, Pl. V, 11) of the Empire of Nicaea, whither the Greeks fled when the Latin Emperors held Constantinople : it is of John Vatatzes (1222–1254), and shows the Emperor, crowned by the Virgin on obverse, and Christ seated on reverse. No. 251 is an asper, the standard silver coin of Trebizond, the little Empire that lived on from 1204–1461 ; the types are Emperor standing on obverse and St. Eugenius standing on reverse.

From imperial gold we turn to imperial brass and copper coinage, passing by the silver, which follows in general the same lines as the gold. The chief coin of the Republic in base metal was the as. Under the Empire, prices had so far risen that the sestertius, the four-as piece, was now struck in brass, while the dupondius, the two-as piece, was regularly, not just occasionally, struck in that metal. The as was still struck, but it was now a subordinate member of the system. Its metal was neither bronze like the Republican as, nor brass like the Imperial sestertius, but red copper, very nearly pure. Four sestertii went to the denarius, one hundred to the aureus. The sestertius was struck in brass, containing about four parts of copper to one of zinc, later in a metal much nearer copper. It was still the unit of account and the coin that represents it maintains such a high level of medallic beauty and artistic interest that it is chosen here as representative of the brass series. From the second century we shall find pieces, usually of larger module and more careful workmanship, which are termed medallions, and appear actually to have played much the same part as modern medals. Their weights are too irregular to encourage the belief that they ranked as multiples of the sestertius ; and, obviously, a finely engraved piece of metal was worth something more than ordinary currency value. Unless the fact is specially noted, the pieces here shown are sestertii.

No. 1 shows us portraits of Octavian, 'Caesar Divi F·' and his divine father, Divus Julius ; it is an as, struck in Gaul about the year B. C. 38. No. 2, an exceptional coin, but perhaps to be called an as, commemorates the triumph of Tiberius, celebrated in B. C. 8 for successes won in Gaul during Augustus's presence with him there : on the reverse appears the moneyer's name, M. SALVIVS OTHO IIIVIR A·A·A·F·F·, with the mark of the Senate, S·C·,[1] which stamps

[1] i. e. 'Senatus Consulto'.

the brass coinage throughout as the special province of the Senate ; on the obverse is a fine head of Augustus, in the unusual position facing to left, with a small Victory tying the victor's laurel round his brow. The dupondius struck by Tiberius in the twenty-fourth year of his tribunician power, A. D. 22–23 (No. 3), preserves for us under the guise of 'Iustitia' the features of his able mother, Livia, who claimed to have won him the throne and wished to share it. Another dupondius of Tiberius (No. 4, Pl. VI, 1), probably of the same date, shows Tiberius on the obverse, and on the reverse, a small medallion of the Emperor, with the motto, CLEMENTIAE. 'Clemency' was one of the qualities on which he particularly prided himself in his early years—and not without some justice. The sestertius of Nero Drusus (No. 5) was struck by his son Claudius, A. D. 41–42, and bears his name on the reverse : Drusus bears the titles of 'Imperator' and 'Germanicus'—the latter, derived from his victories in Germany, remained hereditary in his family. The dupondius of his wife Antonia (No. 6) was also struck by Claudius at the same date. The reverse of Drusus shows Claudius as peace-giver, seated amid scattered arms, the reverse of Antonia shows Claudius as priest, veiled, holding a sacrificial ladle. Next in order follow the son of Nero Drusus, Germanicus, and his wife, the elder Agrippina, whose sad fortunes will be familiar to readers of Tacitus. The sestertius of Germanicus (No. 7), a very rare coin, was struck by his brother Claudius in A. D. 41–42, that of Agrippina (No. 8) by her son Caligula ; on the reverse is a carpentum dedicated to her honour, on the obverse her title 'Mat(er) C. Caesaris Augusti'. Caligula himself (A. D. 37–41) is represented by a coin, showing on the reverse the three sisters, Drusilla, Julia, and Agrippina the Younger, to whom he paid extravagant honours (No. 9) ; a second sestertius of the same reign (No. 10) shows a seated figure of 'Pietas' on the obverse, on the reverse the Emperor sacrificing in front of the temple of Divus Augustus. The reverse of Claudius (No. 11), 'Spes Augusta', undoubtedly refers to the birth of his son and heir Britannicus, the 'hope' of the imperial house, in the first year of the reign. Nero is represented by a series of interesting and beautiful types. No. 12 (Pl. VI, 2) has on the reverse the closed gate of the temple of Janus, closed in honour of the happy conclusion of the Parthian War. No. 13 gives a bird's-eye view

of the harbour of Ostia, begun by Claudius and completed by Nero, with breakwater, slips, ships, lighthouse, and presiding Neptune below. On No. 14 we see Nero engaging in the exercises of the praetorian guard, 'Decursio', while No. 15 shows the triumphal arch erected in honour of successes in the East. A fine portrait of the austere Galba (No. 16) is accompanied by a Victory reverse, in which the Victory holds, in place of the customary wreath, a statue of Minerva. Vitellius (No. 17) passed his short reign in wars, and 'Mars Victor', Mars the giver of Victory, is a most suitable type. Otho has no brass coinage of Rome; the Senate contrived to postpone the coinage till the issue of the Civil War had turned against him. The great achievement of the two elder Flavians, the conquest of Judaea, is celebrated both by Vespasian (No. 18) and by Titus (No. 21). The general scheme is in both cases the same; a palm tree marks the nature of the country, scattered arms recall the fighting, captive Jew and Jewess symbolize the enslaved people. No. 19, a fine sestertius of Vespasian of the year A. D. 71, suggests that he has restored 'Libertas Publica', constitutional government. The quadriga in which stands the Emperor as 'triumphator' (No. 20) celebrates the Jewish triumph of A. D. 71. The 'Spes' reverse of Titus (A. D. 80–81) probably conveys a complimentary allusion to the heir apparent, Domitian (No. 22). Domitian is represented by two interesting types, one (No. 23) where he is sacrificing at a shrine of his patroness, Minerva, the other (No. 24, Pl. VI, 3) where he is seated in front of a temple to receive gifts of fruits from Roman citizens before the Secular Games of A. D. 88. His wife, Domitia, appears with an infant boy, as 'Divi Caesaris Mater' (No. 25): the boy died in infancy and was consecrated. In this, as indeed in all periods of this coinage, the chief mint was Rome; specimens of the work of a subsidiary mint at Lugdunum are seen in Nos. 12 (Pl. VI, 2), 15, and 19. The portraiture is consistently faithful and full of character. There is genuine nobility, over and above realism, in such portraits as those of Nero (No. 12, Pl. VI, 2), Galba (No. 16), Vespasian (No. 19); an interesting feminine *coiffure* is elaborately displayed on the sestertius of Domitia (No. 25).

The line of admirable Emperors, who, on the fall of Domitian, gave the Empire prosperity for nearly a century, has left some splendid numismatic memorials of its work. Nerva

(A. D. 96–98) celebrates the fixing of a corn-dole for the people of Rome (PLEBEI VRBANAE FRVMENTO CONSTITVTO S·C·, bushel and corn-ears (No. 26)). Another benefaction was the remission of the cost of upkeep of the imperial post to Italy ; this is commemorated by the coin, VEHICVLATIONE ITALIAE REMISSA S·C·, two mules, with poles and harness behind them (No. 27, Pl. VI, 4). Trajan, the adopted son of Nerva, has left us beautiful records of his great building activities, of the 'Circus Maximus' (No. 28, Pl. VI, 5), of the Column of Trajan (No. 31), of the 'Aqua Traiana' (No. 30). The 'Circus Maximus', though of course of much earlier date, was enlarged by Trajan. The Column of Trajan bore on its surface in one continuous spiral the stone narrative of Trajan's crowning glory, the Dacian Wars. The 'Aqua Traiana' is depicted by a river-god to represent the source of the water and a view of part of the covered course along which the water was brought to Rome. On No. 29 a figure of Trajan, as warrior, standing to right, between two river gods and a captive province wearing tiara, represents 'the bringing of Armenia and Mesopotamia into the power of the Roman people' : the province is Armenia, the river gods the Tigris and Euphrates. The title 'Optimus' which is borne by Trajan on his coins, first as a description and later as a part of his formal title, was forced upon him by a grateful Senate : the 'goodness' of Trajan remained proverbial for centuries after his death. Plotina, the wife whose virtue enhanced her husband's glory, is seen on No. 32, with reverse FIDES AVGVST· S·C·, Fides standing to right, holding corn-ears and basket of fruit : the idea of 'Fides' here would seem to be 'Confidence between Emperor and Empress'. Marciana, the sister of Trajan, who died *circa* A. D. 114, received the honour of consecration and a biga of elephants for the procession to the Circus, decreed by the Senate (No. 33). Plotina wears her hair in the long plait on the neck characteristic of the earlier Empire, but with a peculiar metal stephane on top : Marciana has the same stephane, but has her hair coiled and knotted in an elaborate high *coiffure*. Hadrian, the great traveller, who knew the Empire province by province and reorganized every branch of the administration, struck on his final return to Rome in A. D. 134 a wonderful series of coins, commemorating his visits to the provinces, his work of restoration, his reviews of the army, and the pro-

vinces themselves with their local peculiarities. He appears in history as the first man who was fully conscious of the imperial mission of Rome. On No. 36 we see the 'Arrival of Augustus in Judaea', the Emperor greeted by a woman sacrificing over an altar accompanied by three children. Judaea had revolted and been subdued in A. D. 132 to 135, and furnished an unhappy contrast to the general peace of the reign : the children introduced in the type here (they are absent from the normal 'Adventus' type) are probably representative of the youth of the province, brought to Hadrian to be trained in the Hellenic culture of the Empire. On No. 40, Africa, wearing on her head her elephant skin, kneels to Hadrian, waiting for restoration : the coin is dedicated to the 'Restorer of Africa' ; No. 41, dedicated to the 'Restorer of Sicily', shows a kneeling Sicily, with her emblem, the triskelis, on her head. Nos. 37–9 show us figures representing provinces. On No. 37, Egypt reclines to left, holding the sistrum of Isis, leaning on a modius full of fruits and confronted by the sacred ibis. Britannia, on No. 38 (Pl. VI, 6), is represented by an armed figure, with spear and large round shield at guard on the Wall : this type was first struck on asses of A. D. 119, then repeated on sestertii and asses of A. D. 134–135 ; its first introduction probably marks the beginning of the work on the Wall. On No. 39, Mauretania stands to right, with the native horse of Africa and the national weapon, the javelin. On No. 42 we see a review of the 'Army of Syria' by Hadrian ; it is no formal address, in quarters, but an address given by the Emperor to the troops at their field training. The fact that Hadrian allows even his armies to bear local names is remarkable. Lastly, on No. 34, one of a series of coins struck *circa* A. D. 132–133, we see the 'Justice of the Emperor' symbolized by a woman, holding patera and sceptre. No. 35, a coin of about the same date, shows on the reverse, a ship, a fitting memorial of the sea voyages of Hadrian: the legend FELICITATI AVG· suggests that good fortune attends the Emperor's travels and goes with him where he goes. Sabina, Hadrian's Empress (No. 43), wears her hair much in the style of Plotina : her reverse, 'Pietas', refers to her religious duties as wife of the 'Pontifex Maximus'. L. Aelius, adopted by Hadrian as heir with the title of 'Caesar' late in A. D. 136, shows on his reverse a figure of Pannonia with a standard, in honour of his campaigns in the province in A. D. 137 (No. 44).

With Antoninus Pius we come to the series of medallions, which shows in an even higher degree than the sestertii what fine results can be obtained on the large *flan* of a brass or copper coin. Exceptional till Hadrian, these medallions only became common under Antoninus: after a great development under Commodus, they decline after him, but are still struck occasionally as late as the fourth century. The subjects of these medallions are usually taken less from current history than from religion or mythology. On No. 45, a medallion of Antoninus Pius, we see Diana on the reverse, with spear in right hand and a fawn perched on her left. On No. 49 we see an entirely different rendering of Diana, the huntress with her dog. On No. 46 Silvanus stands facing, with an axe (?) and branch: on his right is an altar and vase, on his left a tree, at his feet a dog: it is an interesting pictorial type of the god of woods. No. 47 has on the reverse a spirited rendering of the famous motif, Victory slaying the bull, which passed on into the famous Mithraic type. With No. 48 we return to the sestertii: it is a coin of Antoninus showing Britannia seated as a warrior, on rocks that suggest a wall: the fortification of the line of Forth and Clyde by Antoninus may be in view here. No. 50, struck after Antoninus's death, shows on the reverse a column dedicated in his honour. No. 52, struck in honour of his Empress, Faustina the Elder, who died in A.D. 141, shows her borne aloft to heaven on the wings of a genius, carrying a torch—a symbol of Eternity. A medallion of 'Diva Faustina' (No. 51) shows on the reverse 'Securitas' seated at her ease—a token of the happy rest of the blessed dead. A series of medallions of Marcus Aurelius, L. Verus, and Commodus shows this art at its finest Roman development. On No. 53 (Pl. VII, 1), struck in the fourteenth year of Marcus Aurelius's tribunician power, we see a figure of Tiber standing left, setting his foot on a prow, while behind appear the arsenals for the ships: the subject has been less plausibly interpreted as Neptune before the walls of Troy. No. 54 shows Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus, riding to the right, accompanied by two soldiers: it is the departure for the Parthian War in A.D. 162 which is celebrated—Marcus shares in the formal ceremony, though only Verus actually took the field. On No. 55 we see a giant Jupiter, extending his right hand, holding a thunderbolt over the smaller figures of the two Emperors: the companion piece of Verus is shown

below (No. 61). A type like this shows that flattery of the Emperors had not blotted out the distinction between them and the gods. No. 57, a beautiful medallion of the younger Faustina, struck after her death, shows her on the reverse in the character of Diana Lucifera, with torch and crescent, and the legend 'Sideribus Recepta', 'Received among the Stars'. No. 60 shows Marcus Aurelius, with his young son, Commodus, and on reverse, Mars with spear and trophy—a type alluding to the great Danube Wars. No. 64 (Pl. VII, 2) of Lucilla, wife of L. Verus, shows on reverse Cybele, the mother of the gods, with her crown of towers and her drum, riding to the right on a lion : the 'Great Mother', worshipped with devotion by the house of Antoninus, was one of the goddesses to whom the empresses were assimilated. The 'Britannia' on the reverse of Commodus (No. 66), a seated figure with standard, spear, and shield, strongly reminds us of the type of Antoninus Pius : the reference here is to successes over rebels in the year A. D. 185. Nos. 67 and 68 bear witness to the passionate devotion of Commodus to the worship of the god and hero, Hercules, whose feats he strove to emulate in the arena. From the time of Trajan on, Hercules, the great servant of the human race, had been a type of the good Emperor, and Commodus was only exaggerating and deforming a cult that in its origins was reasonable enough. On No. 67, Hercules is crowning himself after labour : his bow and quiver are hung on a tree on the left, his club and lion-skin are in his left hand and on his left arm : to the right is a lighted altar. On No. 68 (Pl. VII, 3) Hercules stands laureate in front of a rock, on which is stretched the skin of the Nemean lion ; on the obverse, Commodus, seeking identification with his hero, wears his lion-skin on his head. Another fine medallion (No. 69), this time of the year A.D. 191, shows Minerva, the warrior-goddess with helmet and shield, apparently about to pluck an olive-branch ; in front of her is an altar, behind a column, on which perches her owl. It is Minerva in her peaceful aspect who is here represented, the goddess who is mistress of the arts as well as of the sword. Amongst these medallions we find a few sestertii of the same period, noticeably inferior in finish, but still on a good level of technique. On No. 56, of Marcus Aurelius, the reverse symbolizes the 'Harmony of the Emperors' by figures of the two, clasping right hands of fellowship. Faustina the Younger

(No. 58) has on her reverse Salus feeding her snake; the legend SALVTI AVGVSTAE suggests that vows are being offered to Salus for the recovery of the Empress from illness; another attractive type of the same Empress (No. 59) shows Faustina with four children, two in her arms, two at her side, as a token of the 'Happiness of the Age'. Verus, on No. 62, celebrates the crowning event of the Eastern war, the giving of a king to the Armenians in A. D. 64. Verus, seated on a platform attended by officers, has just placed a crown on the king's head, and the king with right hand raised is adjusting it. No. 63 was struck after Verus's death and consecration in A. D. 169; the quadriga of elephants bearing his effigy was one of the honours voted to him. Lucilla (No. 65) has Pietas sacrificing on her reverse, Crispina, wife of Commodus (No. 70), Hilaritas, 'Mirth'. Pietas has usually a more or less definite religious reference, Hilaritas, with her long palm and cornucopiae, suggests merrymakings, particularly those of the 'Hilaria', the great spring festival of Cybele on March 25th. Pertinax (No. 71), the worthy senator who was chosen to succeed Commodus, shows on his reverse a 'Liberalitas'—the Emperor himself presiding over the distribution. This, however, failed to secure him a lasting tenure of the throne; nor did Didius Julianus, who on his death bought the Empire from the praetorian guards, succeed in retaining for long the imperial 'fortuna' which he shows on his reverse (No. 72). Even in his short reign his wife, Manlia Scantilla, found time to issue coins, with Juno Regina, her divine counterpart on the reverse (No. 73). Of the rivals who contended to wrest the Empire from Julianus, Pescennius Niger, whose power lay in the East, has no coins in this series. Clodius Albinus, who in A. D. 193 came to terms with Septimius Severus and received from him the title of Caesar, shared with him the right of coinage at Rome till their breach in A. D. 196. His reverse shows Felicitas with her caduceus and sceptre (No. 74). Septimius Severus, the able but cruel African, who beat aside all rivals and ruled alone from A. D. 196–211, is represented by a fine medallion (No. 75) showing the Emperor haranguing the troops; the obverse shows the Emperor as warrior with spear and shield, the reverse legend FIDES MILIT. ('Loyalty of the Troops') suggests difficulties in the army which the Emperor was trying to smooth over. Care for the interests of the legions was a cardinal point of Severus's policy. A

sestertius of the year A. D. 210 represents Severus and his son and colleague, Caracalla, taking part together in sacrifice (No. 76). The beautiful veiled portrait of Julia Domna was made after her death and the reverse shows her borne heavenward on the wings of an eagle (No. 77, Pl. VII, 4). Clever, accomplished, and ambitious, and of high rank in her native Syria, she had played no small part in the making of her husband's fortunes. Caracalla, the eldest son of Severus, appears on No. 78 as 'Caesar' (A. D. 196–198): the priestly implements on the reverse indicate the membership of the chief priestly colleges which fell to him by right as 'Severi Aug(usti) Pii fil(ius)'. 'Caracalla', of course, is only a nickname, derived from a kind of cloak which he wore as a boy; his official title was 'Marcus Aurelius Antoninus', derived by a fictitious adoption from the line of Marcus Aurelius, which had rendered the name 'Antoninus' so dear that it persisted for years afterwards in imperial titles. A much later coin of Caracalla when he was sole ruler (A. D. 213) shows a view of the 'Circus Maximus', with the obelisk and other main features clearly rendered (No. 79). Geta, the younger brother of Caracalla, shared the throne with father and brother from A. D. 209 to 211, and was left by Septimius as his joint heir: he never ceased, however, to quarrel with Caracalla, and was murdered by him in A. D. 212. A fine medallion (No. 80) shows Geta as 'Caesar' (*circa* A. D. 208), while on the reverse he appears as 'Prince of the Youth' between standards: the legend 'Concordia Militum' suggests that the army is well contented with the young prince.

On the death of Caracalla in A. D. 217 the dynasty of Severus was ousted by Macrinus, the first Roman knight to wear the purple. His sestertius (No. 81) shows on reverse Salus feeding her snake, surrounded by the imperial title. His son Diadumenian appears on No. 82 as 'Caesar': the reverse shows him as 'Prince of the Youth', standing between standards. Macrinus perished in A. D. 118 as the result of a military rising in Syria, which restored the Severan dynasty in the person of Elagabalus, cousin of Caracalla, the young priest of the Sun-god of Emesa. Elagabalus was morally worthless, and this seriously detracts from the interest of his attempt to foist his Eastern Sun-worship on Rome. The promise of 'Libertas' is contained in his reverse (No. 83), on which Liberty stands holding the *pileus*, the cap of the

enfranchised slave, and the *vindicta*, the praetor's wand that conferred freedom. No. 84 shows one of Elagabalus's Empresses, Julia Paula, with the 'Concordia' type on reverse. Nos. 85 and 86 give us portraits of the mother and grandmother of the Emperor, Julia Soaemias and Julia Maesa, able women who took a large share in the government. Julia Soaemias gives her reverse to Cybele, 'Mother of the Gods', Maesa hers to 'Pudicitia', the special virtue of the Vestals. The star that occurs in the field of Nos. 83 and 84 had probably some significance in Eastern religion, though it may also be used as a mint distinction. Elagabalus was beyond the endurance of Rome and soon fell, to give way to his cousin, Severus Alexander, and his mother the queen-regent, Julia Mammaea. Under this reign the better sides of the rule of the Syrian dynasty come to the fore—humanitarian feeling, constitutionalism, toleration. Nos. 87 and 88, two handsome medallions, show the departure of the Emperor, escorted by Victory for the Persian War and a solemn sacrifice in front of a temple of 'Eternal Rome'. Sallustia Orbiana, the wife of Alexander, has a 'Concordia' type, Emperor and Empress clasping hands (No. 89). Julia Mammaea appears on her medallion (No. 90, Pl. VII, 5) as 'Panthea', a universal goddess, with the crescent of Diana, the wings of Victory, the cornucopiae of Pax or Felicitas : the reverse, described by the motto 'Perpetual Felicity', shows Mammaea attended by Felicitas receiving an apple from Venus, while in the background stands Vesta. The wise and gentle rule of Alexander fell less through inherent weakness than through foreign war. The Persian War ended in no great success for Rome. The German Wars following gave the malcontents in the armies their opportunity, and the giant barbarian, Maximin I, was declared Emperor. Nos. 91–3 show Maximin and his family, Maximin himself with Peace on reverse with her branch and sceptre (No. 91), his son Maximus, as 'Prince of the Youth' (No. 93), his dead wife, Paulina, now consecrated, borne aloft on the reverse by an eagle (No. 92). The sharp reaction from the quiet, civilian rule of Alexander to the rough, though efficient, militarism of Maximin was bound to arouse discontent. The trouble broke out in Africa, where an aged Roman noble, Gordian, with his son, espoused the cause of oppressed peasants against Maximin's agents and was driven to assume the purple. Gordian the father places on his reverse 'Eternal

Rome', Gordian the son 'the Providence of the Augusti' (Nos. 94, 95). The Gordians soon fell, but not before Rome had declared in their favour. Then, to escape Maximin's vengeance, the Senate called all Italy to arms and appointed Balbinus and Pupienus (Nos. 96, 97) joint emperors. Balbinus devotes his reverse to 'Public Peace', Pupienus his to 'Victory'. Contrary to all expectation, the defence against Maximin succeeded : he was held up at the siege of Aquileia and finally abandoned by his troops. But the Emperors were unpopular and divided in counsel ; first driven to make Gordian III, grandson of the first Gordian, Caesar, they were soon murdered to make way for him. Gordian III came to the throne as a boy and stood all his life under the influence of his praetorian prefects, the last of whom, Philip the Arabian, murdered him and seized the throne in A. D. 244. Of Gordian III we see here two fine medallions : one (No. 98, Pl. VIII, 1) shows the Coliseum, in which a fight between a bull and an elephant is proceeding—the legend 'Munificentia Gordiani Aug(usti)' calls attention to the Emperor's generosity in providing games for the delectation of the mob —the other (No. 99) a sacrifice of a bull in front of the temple of Νείκη Ὁπλοφόρος ('Victory bearing arms'). A sestertius (No. 100) presents Gordian III as soldier on reverse, holding the orb. Of Philip I we have a sestertius (No. 101), with reverse, Annona Aug(usta), suggesting Philip's care for the Roman corn-supply. Of his wife Otacilia Severa we have a medallion (No. 102) with the familiar legend, PVDICITIA AVG. with Otacilia seated veiled, attended by Felicitas, while before her stand two children. With Philip I was associated his son, Philip II, first as Caesar and then as Augustus. Nos. 103, 104 (Pl. VIII, 2) are medallions showing the young prince facing his parents. No. 103 has on the reverse Philip I crowned by Victory with his son in a quadriga facing, escorted in triumph by soldiers. No. 104 (Pl. VIII, 2) represents a sacrifice in front of a temple in honour of the 'Saeculum Novum' which started in A. D. 248 on the completion of the first thousand years ('Saeculum') of Rome. The sestertius of Philip II (No. 105) shows a column erected in honour of the 'Saecular' games given on this occasion by the Emperor. Trajan Decius (A. D. 249–251) and his wife, Herennia Etruscilla, are represented by brass coins of exceptional magnitude (Nos. 106, 107), probably double sestertii or quinarii, not medallions as they

are often called, for they bear the mark S·C·. The reverse of Decius is Felicitas, with long caduceus and cornucopiae, that of Etruscilla Pudicitia veiled. The two princes Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian are both represented as 'Princes of the Youth', with standard and spears (Nos. 108, 109). The medallions of Trebonianus Gallus and of Gallus and Volusian (Nos. 110, 111) share the interesting reverse of the temple of 'Juno Martialis', while the sestertius of Volusian (No. 112) has on reverse an Apollo, with branch and bow, standing on a pile of rocks and legend ARNASI. The exact reference of ARNASI is disputed, but it appears to be an epithet of Apollo, appropriate to him as a god of healing : the reign of Gallus was marred by a terrible plague. The exact reason for the cult of Juno Martialis by these emperors and the details of that cult are alike unknown. Valerian I (A. D. 253–259), the able but luckless emperor, who ended his life in Persian captivity, is represented by two medallions (Nos. 113, Pl. VIII, 3, 114), one showing an imperial distribution ('Liberalitas') presided over by the Emperor and his son, the other illustrating the 'Victory of the Augusti', Gallienus presenting to his father a Victory on a globe, perhaps in honour of Gallienus's German campaign in A. D. 256. A sestertius (No. 115) shows the Sun-god, radiate, with the whip of the charioteer, under the name of the 'Rising Sun of the Emperor'. It was at about this time that Sun-Worship, sometimes in its purest form of Mithraism, spread victorious over the whole Empire. Gallienus (A. D. 253–268) is represented by a sestertius, showing him on reverse as 'Restorer of the World', raising a kneeling woman to her feet (No. 116). His wife, Salonina, places Vesta on her reverse (No. 117). On the medallion (No. 118) that shows on obverse Gallienus and Salonina facing one another we meet for the first time in this exhibition a type that dominates the medallion series for nearly a century. Three women stand to front, each holding scales and cornucopiae, each with a small pile of metal at her feet : the legend accompanying varies, sometimes AEQVITAS PVBLICA as here, more often MONETA AVG(usti), as on Nos. 121–6, 128–39. Whether the figures represent the 'three Monetae', personifications of the three metals, gold, silver, brass, or only a multiplication of the one 'moneta', has been disputed : the former alternative seems more probable. The type has certainly some close relation to internal

policy in finance : perhaps these pieces represent the standard of the metals in use. The young prince, Saloninus, son of Gallienus, appears as 'Prince of the Youth', with spear and orb and a captive at his feet (No. 119). Postumus, the able general who seceded and formed a separate Gallic Empire in the West that lasted from A. D. 258 to 273, is shown on his reverse as warrior with spear and orb (No. 120). Claudius II (A. D. 268–270), the hero of the repulse of the Goths, Florian, brother of the senatorial champion, Tacitus, who reigned for a month or two in A. D. 276, Probus, the truly 'good' Emperor, who completed Aurelian's work of restoration, Carus, whose fame has been eclipsed by his successor Diocletian—all these strike with the one reverse, 'Moneta Aug(usti)' (Nos. 121–6). The portraiture of Probus is remarkable : on No. 123 he appears with shield and spear and with the Sun-god, his companion, beside him ; on No. 124 he holds the eagle-tipped sceptre, on No. 125 he has the aegis thrown over his shoulder and spear in his right hand. The sons of Carus, Carinus and Numerian, both have medallions with the 'Moneta Aug(usti)' reverse (Nos. 128, 129). A larger medallion of Numerian (No. 127, Pl. VIII, 4) shows an elaborate portrait on obverse of the prince holding an eagle-tipped sceptre and a Victory on globe, on reverse an 'Adlocutio', 'Harangue of the troops'. A series of fine portraits of Diocletian (A. D. 284–305, Nos. 130–3), Maximian I (A. D. 286–305, Nos. 134–6), Constantius I (A. D. 305–306, Nos. 137, 138), Galerius (A. D. 305–311) continues the 'Moneta Aug(usti)' reverse without variation. The portraiture of the first two Augusti and the first two Caesars of the tetrarchy of Diocletian is vigorous and interesting. We note on No. 132 the pointing hand of Diocletian, on No. 134 the lion-skin of Hercules borrowed for his votary, Maximian, on No. 136 the horse held by Maximian by the reins. Of the varied history, foreign and domestic, of those early days of the reorganized Empire, the medallions tell us nothing. With the dynasty of Constantine and his sons we reach the last period of the history that we can follow here : the Roman brass medallion after the middle of the fourth century is a very rare occurrence. The monotonous 'Moneta' now disappears, but the types that replace it are largely of a formal character and tend to recur. On No. 140 we see Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, with Pietas on the reverse with two children—a type symbolizing maternal

affection. Constantine I celebrates on his reverse (No. 141) the victories of his sons Crispus and Constantine II, with legend GLORIA SAECVLI VIRTVS CAESS. : Crispus presents to his father a phoenix on a globe, while a panther sits cowed at his feet. The foundation of the new Rome of the East in A. D. 330 finds an echo in the companion pieces, Nos. 142, 143 (Pl. VIII, 5)—Constantinopolis as an armed goddess on obverse and as a city 'Tyche' (or 'Fortune') crowned by Victory on reverse, and Rome as an armed goddess on obverse, with her badge the she-wolf and twins of legend on the reverse. Constans (A. D. 337–350) has a seated Roma with Victory and spear, 'Urbs Roma Beata', on No. 144, and a type of the 'Emperor's Valour', a captive at the Emperor's feet on No. 145. Constantius II has a seated Victory inscribing a shield on No. 146 and a Victory crowning Emperor on No. 147. Constantius III Gallus (Caesar, A. D. 350–354) has an 'Urbs Roma', Roma with Victory and spear (No. 150). Finally, Magnentius and his brother Decentius, Augustus and Caesar respectively in Gaul, A. D. 350–353, both show a Victory advancing towards a captive who cowers in her path (Nos. 148, 149).

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

E. Babelon : *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines. Pt. I, tom. I, Théorie et doctrine.* Paris. 1901.

G. F. Hill : *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins.* London. 1899.

F. Lenormant : *La monnaie dans l'antiquité.* 3 vols. Paris. 1878–9.

Th. Mommsen : *Das römische Münzwesen.* Leipzig. 1850. (French translation by the Duc de Blacas. Paris. 1865–75.)

E J. Haeberlin : *Aes Grave.* 2 vols. (text and plates). Frankfurt a.M. 1910.

E. A. Sydenham : *Aes Grave.* London. 1926.

British Museum Catalogue of Republican Coins (H. A. Grueber). 3 vols. London. 1910.

E. Babelon : *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la République romaine.* 2 vols. Paris. 1885–6.

G. F. Hill : *Historical Roman Coins.* London. 1909.

K. Samwer and M. Bahrfeldt : *Geschichte des älteren römischen Münzwesens, &c.* Vienna. 1883.

H. Willers : *Geschichte der römischen Kupferprägung . . . bis auf Kaiser Claudius.* Leipzig and Berlin. 1909.

British Museum Catalogue of Imperial Coins (H. Mattingly). Vol. i. (Augustus to Vitellius.) London. 1923.

M. Bernhart : *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit.* 2 vols. (text and plates) Halle a.S. 1926.

H. Cohen : *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain.* (Second edition) 8 vols. Paris. 1880–92.

H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham : *The Roman Imperial Coinage.* Vol. i. (Augustus to Vitellius.) ii. (Vespasian to Hadrian.) Vol v. Part i by P. H. Webb. (Galerian to Florian.) London. 1923, 1926–7.

E. A. Sydenham : *Historical References on Coins of the Roman Empire from Augustus to Gallienus.* London. 1917.

British Museum Catalogue of Byzantine Coins (Warwick Wroth). 2 vols. London. 1908.

British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths, &c. (Warwick Wroth). London. 1911.

British Museum Catalogue of Roman Medallions (H. A. Grueber). London. 1874.

F. Gnecchi : *I Medaglioni romani.* 3 vols. Milan. 1912.

INDEX

Aes Grave, 1 ff.
Aes Rude, 1 ff.
Aes Signatum, 2.
Antoninianus, 47.
Art, 24, 42 f., 45, 55, 69, 72.
As, 3 ff., 11, 67.
Aureus, 20, 27, 30 ff., 40 ff.

Beneventum, 66.
Biga types, 13 ff.
Brass and copper coinage, 67 ff.
Bronze coinage, 1 ff., 8 ff., 11, 13, 20, 29.
Burgundians, 66.
Byzantine Empire, 55 ff.

Christianity, 52 ff., 58 ff.
Contemporary history, 24, 26, 40.

Decussis, 4.
Denarius, 4, 8 ff., 12 ff., 40, 47.
Dupondius, 4, 68.

Emperor worship, 42, 44.

Family history, 19 ff., 23 f.
Finds, 16 f.
Follis, 51.

Gold coinage, 10 ff., 13, 20, 27, 30, 39 ff.

Icon-worship, 60 ff.
Imperial coinage, 35 ff., 39 ff.

Lombards, 65 f.
Lugdunum, 39.

Marks of value, 9, 11 ff.
Medallions, 67 ff., 72 ff.
Merovingians, 66.
Military coinage, 35.
Mint-marks, 9, 39, 51 ff.
Mints, 5 ff., 12, 14, 17 ff., 28, 31, 39, 47, 51 ff.
Monograms, 9 f., 13.

Nicaea, 67.
Nomisma, 62 f.

Odovacar, 65.
Ostrogoths, 65.

Plated coins, 19.
Portraiture, 24 f., 28, 30, 33, 42, 45 69.
Pound, Roman, 3.
Provincial issues, 1 f., 17 f., 31, 39, 49, 51 ff., 69.

Quadrans, 3, 5 ff., 11.
Quadriga types, 13 ff.
Quadrigatus, 9 f., 12, 15.
Quadruncia, 4.
Quinarius, 8 f., 13, 29, 47.

Reductions of as, 3 ff.
Reform of Diocletian, 50 ff.
Reform of Nero, 41.
Religious types, 40, 52 f.
Restorations, 24, 43.
'Romano-Campanian' coinage, 5 f.

Scyphate coins, 62.
Semis, 3 ff., 11.
Semuncia, 4.
Senate, 28, 32, 37, 39, 67 ff.
Serrati, 14, 17, 19, 22 f., 27.
Sestertius, 5, 8 ff., 13, 29, 40, 67 ff.
Sextans, 3 ff., 11.
Silver coinage, 8 ff., 47, 51.
Solidus, 51 ff., 59 ff.
Suevi, 66.
Symbols, 9 f., 13 f.

Trebizond, 67.
Tremissis, 58.
Tressis, 4.
Triens, 3, 5 ff., 11.
Triumviri a.a.a. f.f., 14, 16, 38.
Types of Aes Grave, 3 ff. : of gold, 11 f., 20 f., 40 ff. : of imperial brass, &c., 67 ff. : of silver, 8 ff.

Uncia, 3, 5 ff., 11.

Vandals, 65.
Victoriate, 9 f., 13 f., 17.
Visigoths, 66.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16

1 2 3 4 5

6 7 8 9

10 11 12 13

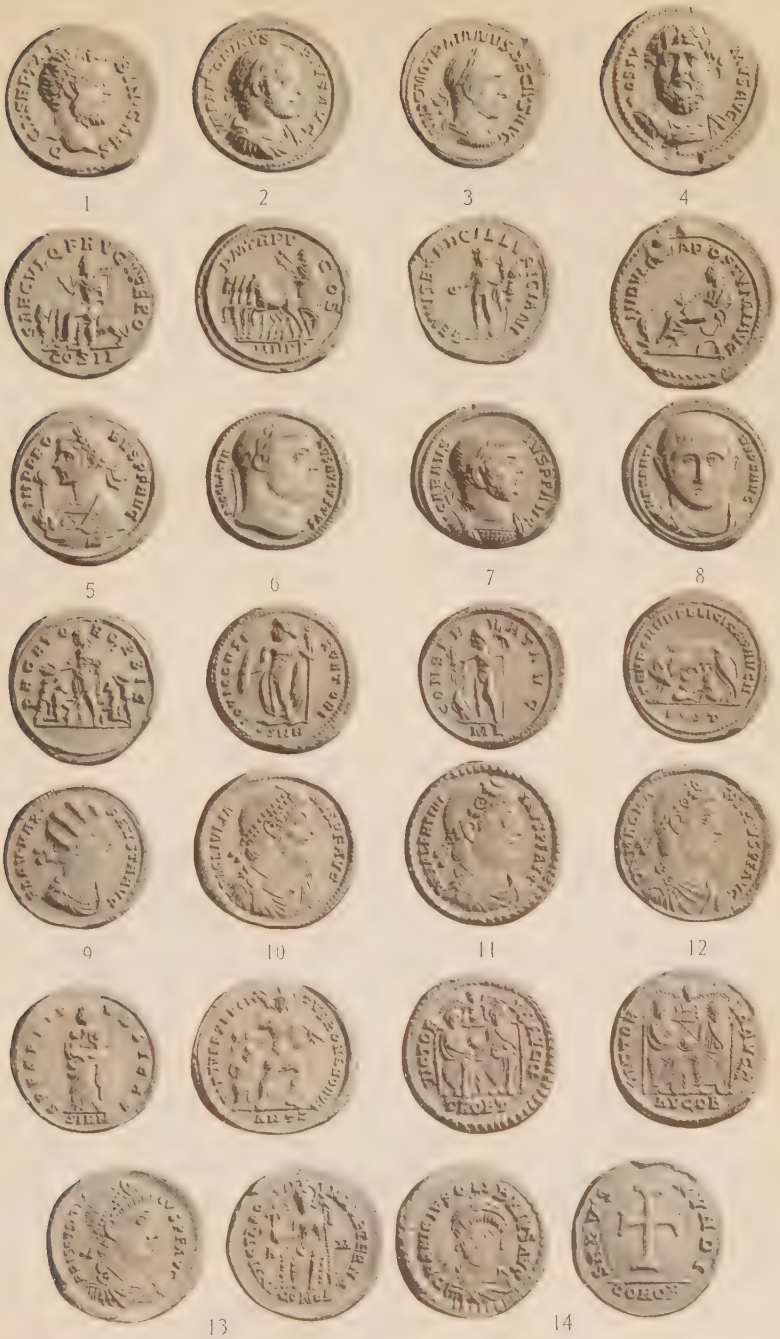
14 15

1 2 3 4

5 6 7 8

9 10 11 12

13 14



1 2 3 4

5 6 7 8

9 10 11 12

13 14

1 2 3 4

5 6 7 8

9 10 11

1

2

3

4

5

6

1

2

4

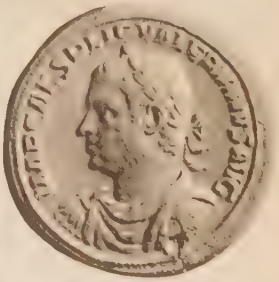
3

5

1

2

5



3

4

PUBLICATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT

CATALOGUES OF COINS AND MEDALS

CATALOGUE OF GREEK COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM:

Italy, by R. S. Poole. 1873, 8vo. Numerous woodcuts. *Out of Print.*

Sicily, by R. S. Poole, B. V. Head, and P. Gardner. 1876, 8vo. Numerous woodcuts. *Out of Print.*

Thrace, by B. V. Head and P. Gardner. 1877, 8vo. Numerous woodcuts. *Out of Print.*

Seleucid Kings of Syria, by P. Gardner. 1878, 8vo. 28 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Macedonia, by B. V. Head. 1879, 8vo. Numerous woodcuts and a Map. *Out of Print.*

Thessaly to Aetolia, by P. Gardner. 1883, 8vo. 1*l.* 32 Collotype Plates.

Ptolemaic Kings of Egypt, by R. S. Poole. 1883, 8vo. 32 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Central Greece, by B. V. Head. 1884, 8vo. 24 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Crete and the Aegean Islands, by Warwick Wroth. 1886, 8vo. 29 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Peloponnesus, by P. Gardner. 1887, 8vo. 37 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Attica, Megaris, Aegina, by B. V. Head. 1888, 8vo. 26 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Corinth, &c., by B. V. Head. 1889, 8vo. 1*l.* 39 Collotype Plates.

Pontus, Paphlagonia, &c., by Warwick Wroth. 1889, 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.* 39 Collotype Plates.

Mysia, by Warwick Wroth. 1892, 8vo. 1*l.* 35 Collotype Plates.

Alexandria, &c., by R. S. Poole. 1892, 8vo. 1*l.* 5*s.* 32 Collotype Plates.

Ionia, by B. V. Head. 1892, 8vo. 1*l.* 8*s.* With Map and 39 Collotype Plates.

Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos, by Warwick Wroth. 1894, 8vo. 1*l.* 5*s.* With Map and 43 Collotype Plates.

Caria and the Islands, by B. V. Head. 1897, 8vo. 1*l.* 8*s.* With Map and 45 Collotype Plates.

Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia, by G. F. Hill. 1897, 8vo. 1*l.* 10*s.* With Map and 44 Collotype Plates.

Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria, by Warwick Wroth. 1899, 8vo. 1*l.* 8*s.* With Map and 38 Collotype Plates.

Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia, by G. F. Hill. 1900, 8vo. 1*l.* 8*s.* With Map and 40 Collotype Plates.

Lydia, by B. V. Head. 1902, 8vo. 1*l.* 15*s.* With Map and 45 Collotype Plates.

Parthia, by Warwick Wroth. 1903, 8vo. 1*l.* 5*s.* With Map and 36 Collotype Plates.

Cyprus, by G. F. Hill. 1904, 8vo. 15*s.* With Map and 26 Collotype Plates.

Phrygia, by B. V. Head. 1906, 8vo. 2*l.* With Map and 53 Collotype Plates.

Phoenicia, by G. F. Hill. 1910, 8vo. 1*l.* 15*s.* With Map and 45 Collotype Plates.

Palestine, by G. F. Hill. 1914, 8vo. 1*l.* 10*s.* With Map and 42 Collotype Plates.

Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, &c., by G. F. Hill. 1922, 8vo. With Map and 55 Collotype Plates. 3*l.* 10*s.*

CATALOGUE OF ROMAN COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM:

Coins of the Roman Republic, by H. A. Grueber. 3 vols. 1910, 8vo. 7*l.* 10*s.* With 123 Collotype Plates.

Roman Medallions, by H. A. Grueber. 1874, 8vo. 66 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Imperial Byzantine Coins, by Warwick Wroth. 2 vols. 1908, 8vo. 2*l.* 15*s.* With 79 Collotype Plates.

Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths, &c., by Warwick Wroth. 1911, 8vo. 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* With 43 Collotype Plates.

Coins of the Roman Empire, Vol. I (Augustus to Vitellius), by H. Mattingly. 1923, 8vo. 3*l.* 3*s.* With 64 Collotype Plates.

CATALOGUE OF ENGLISH COINS AND MEDALS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM:

Catalogue of the Anglo-Gallic Coins, by E. Hawkins. 1826, 4to. 3 Engraved Plates. *Out of Print.*

Catalogue of English Coins. Anglo-Saxon Series, by C. F. Keary, Vol. I. 1887, 8vo. 1*l.* 10*s.* 30 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Vol. II, by H. A. Grueber and C. F. Keary. 1893, 8vo. 2*l.* 2*s.* With Map and 32 Collotype Plates.

—— The Norman Kings, by G. C. Brooke. 1916, 8vo. 2 vols. 2*l.* 62 Collotype Plates.

Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II, by E. Hawkins, edited by Sir A. W. Franks, K.C.B., and H. A. Grueber. 1885, 8vo. 2 vols. Numerous woodcuts. *Out of Print.*

—— Illustrated Edition, by H. A. Grueber. In XIX Portfolios. 183 Collotype Plates. 1904–1911, fol. 6*l.*

CATALOGUE OF ORIENTAL COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM:

Vol. I. The Coins of the Eastern Khaleefehs, by S. Lane Poole. 1875, 8vo. 8 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Vol. II. The Coins of the Mohammadan Dynasties, Classes III–X, by S. Lane Poole. 1876, 8vo. 8 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Vol. III. The Coins of the Turkuman Houses of Seljook, Urtuk, Zengee, &c., Classes X–XIV, by S. Lane Poole. 1877, 8vo. 12 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Vol. IV. The Coinage of Egypt, by S. Lane Poole. 1879, 8vo. 8 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Vol. V. The Coins of the Moors, by S. Lane Poole. 1880, 8vo. 7 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Vol. VI. The Coins of the Mongols, by S. Lane-Poole. 1881, 8vo. 9 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Vol. VII. The Coinage of Bukhárá, by S. Lane-Poole. 1882, 8vo. 5 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Vol. VIII. The Coins of the Turks, by S. Lane-Poole. 1883, 8vo. 12 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

Vol. IX. (Additions to Vols. I–IV), by S. Lane-Poole. 1889, 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.* 20 Collotype Plates.

Vol. X. (Additions to Vols. V–VIII), by S. Lane-Poole. 1891, 8vo. 1*l.* 5*s.* 33 Collotype Plates.

Catalogue of Arabic Glass Weights, by S. Lane-Poole. 1891, 8vo. 12*s.* 9 Collotype Plates.

CATALOGUE OF PERSIAN COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM:

Sháhs of Persia, by R. S. Poole. 1887, 8vo. 1*l.* 5*s.* 24 Collotype Plates.

CATALOGUE OF INDIAN COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM:

The Coins of the Sultáns of Delhi, by S. Lane-Poole. 1884, 8vo. With Map and 9 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

The Coins of the Muhammadan States of India, by S. Lane-Poole. 12 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, by P. Gardner. 1886, 8vo. 32 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

The Coins of the Moghul Emperors, by S. Lane-Poole. 1892, 8vo. 1*l.* 16*s.* 33 Collotype Plates.

The Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty, and the 'Bodhi' Dynasty, by E. J. Rapson. 1908, 8vo. 1*l.* 5*s.* With Map and 21 Collotype Plates.

The Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, and of Saśāṅka, King of Gauḍa, by J. Allan. 1914, 8vo. 1*l.* 5*s.* With 24 Collotype Plates.

CATALOGUE OF CHINESE COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM:
Catalogues of Chinese Coins from the Seventh Century B.C. to A.D. 621, including the Series in the British Museum, by Terrien de Lacouperie. 1892, 8vo. 2*l*. With numerous illustrations.

ITALIAN MEDALS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM:
Select Italian Medals of the Renaissance in the British Museum. Illustrated on 50 Collotype Plates. 1915, portfolio. 8*s*. 6*d*.

Grains and Grammes. A Table of Equivalents for the use of Numismatists. 1920, 8vo. 3*s*.

How to Observe in Archaeology. Suggestions for Travellers in the Near and Middle East. 1920, 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

GUIDES AND HANDBOOKS TO THE COINS AND MEDALS EXHIBITED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

COINS OF THE ANCIENTS: [1]
Guide to the Coins of the Ancients, by B. V. Head, with 70 Collotype Plates. 4th edition, 1895, 8vo. 1*l*. 5*s*. (cloth).

ITALIAN MEDALS: [2]
Guide to the Exhibition of Italian Medals, by C. F. Keary. 1881, 8vo. 6*d*. Also Illustrated (7 Collotype Plates). 2nd edition, 1893, 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

ENGLISH HISTORICAL MEDALS: [3]
Guide to the Exhibition of English Medals, by H. A. Grueber. 1881, 8vo. 6*d*.

HISTORICAL MEDALS:
Guide to the Exhibition of Historical Medals. With 120 illustrations. 1924, 8vo. 2*s*.

COINS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND: [4]
Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland, by H. A. Grueber. 1899, 8vo. With 64 Collotype Plates. *Out of Print.*

GUIDE TO THE DEPARTMENT OF COINS AND MEDALS:
3rd edition, 1922, 8vo. 1*s*. 6*d*. With 8 Collotype Plates.

[1] The section of the Exhibition to which this Guide refers has been slightly modified by the omission of some of the later coins and the addition of a supplement containing select bronze Greek coins and recent acquisitions of importance.

[2] The section of the Exhibition to which this Guide refers has been considerably modified, and is now dealt with in the Guide to Renaissance Medals.

[3] The section of the Exhibition to which this Guide refers has been considerably modified, and is now dealt with in the Guide to Historical Medals.
This is a detailed Guide to Cases 18–27.

RENAISSANCE MEDALS:

Guide to the Exhibition of Medals of the Renaissance, by G. F. Hill. 1923, 8vo. 2*s*. With 90 Illustrations.

ROMAN COINS:

Guide to the Exhibition of Roman Coins, by H. Mattingly. 1927, 8vo. With 8 Collotype Plates and 11 figures in text.

PICTORIAL POSTCARDS

Price 1*d*. each.

No.

121. Early Greek coins, 700–480 B. C.
122. Greek Coins, Fine Period, 480–400 B. C.
123. Historical Greek Coins.
124. Roman Republican Coins.
125. Coins of the twelve Caesars.
126. Anglo-Saxon Coins.
127. English Silver Coins.
128. English Gold Coins.
129. Medals of Queen Elizabeth and of Mary, Queen of Scots.
130. Royalist Badges.
187. Gold naval reward medal, 1652, by Thomas Simon.
188. Gold sovereign of Henry VII (1495).
189. 'Petition Crown' of Charles II (1663), by Thomas Simon.
190. Silver medal of Marie de Médicis (1573–1642), wife of Henry IV of France. By Guillaume Dupré.
191. Silver coin of Sybrita in Crete.
192. Silver coin of Syracuse, by Kimon.
193. Bronze medallion of Marcus Aurelius, struck in A. D. 159.
194. Lead medal of Sigismondo Malatesta, by Pisanello.
195. Bronze medal of Giovanna Tornabuoni, by Niccolò Spinelli of Florence.
196. Bronze medal of Giulia Astallia.
197. Coins of Ludovico il Moro and Giangaleazzo Maria Sforza.
198. Bronze medal of Cardinal Bembo, by Benvenuto Cellini.
199. Lead medal of Erasmus.
200. The 'Juxon Medal' of Charles I.

Price 1*s*. the Set.

SET XXIII. MEDALLIC WORKS OF ABRAHAM AND THOMAS SIMON.

1. Wax model for portrait of Abraham Simon by himself.
2. (*a*) Sir John Hotham, Governor of Hull. (*b*) John de Reede, Ambassador of the States-General of Holland, 1645.

No.

3. (*a*) James Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, 1645. (*b*) Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, 1646.
4. (*a*) William Pope, 1645. (*b*) Charles, second Earl of Dunfermline, 1646.
5. (*a*) Albert Joachim (1646), Ambassador of the United Provinces. (*b*) Sir Sidenham Pointz, 1646.
6. (*a*) M. de Martinay. (*b*) Unknown.
7. (*a*) John Cleypole (?). (*b*) Elizabeth Cleypole, his wife, daughter of Oliver Cromwell.
8. (*a*) Colonel Fleetwood (?), Lieutenant-General of the Forces under Cromwell. (*b*) Unknown.
9. Oliver Cromwell, Protector, 1653.
10. (*a*) George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, 1660. (*b*) Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, 1662.
11. (*a*) John Thurloe, Secretary of State to Cromwell. (*b*) Dorcas Brabazon, Lady Lane, 1662.
12. Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, 1664 (2 portraits).
13. 'Petition Crown' of Charles II (1663) by Thomas Simon.
14. The Assertion of the Dominion of the Sea by Charles II, 1665.
15. Great Seal of Richard Cromwell as Protector (1659–60).

Set XXIV. COINS OF SYRACUSE.

1. Four silver coins, about 485–478 B. C.
2. Silver 'Medallion', struck to commemorate the defeat of the Carthaginians by Gelo in 480 B. C.
3. Silver coins with heads of Arethusa, about 478–450 B. C.
4. Silver coins with heads of Arethusa, about 466–430 B. C.
5. Silver coins with head of Arethusa and victorious chariot, about 430–413 B. C.
6. Silver coins with heads of Nymphs, 5th and 4th cent. B. C.
7. Silver 'Medallion' by Kimon, issued after the defeat of the Athenians, 413 B. C.
8. Silver coins by Kimon, end of 5th cent. B. C.
9. Silver 'Medallion' by Euaenetus, issued after the defeat of the Athenians, 413 B. C.
10. Silver coin with four-horse chariot and head of Athena, end of 5th cent. B. C.
11. Electrum and gold coins of period of Dion and Timoleon, 357–317 B. C.
12. Silver coin of Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, 317–289 B. C., and gold coin struck by Pyrrhus in Sicily, 278–275 B. C.
13. Silver coin of Hiero II, King of Syracuse, 274–216 B. C.
14. Silver coin of Philistis, wife of Hiero II.
15. Silver coin of Hieronymus, King of Syracuse, 216–215 B. C.

Set XXV. MEDALS ILLUSTRATING ENGLISH HISTORY.

No.

1. Gold medal of Henry VIII, struck in 1545.
2. Bronze medal of Pope Julius III, commemorating the return of England to Roman obedience under Mary, 1553.
3. Engraved silver map of the voyage of Sir Francis Drake, 1580.
4. Silver medal commemorating Leicester's return from the Low Countries, 1587.
5. Gold naval reward for the defeat of the Spanish Armada, 1588.
6. Silver medal commemorating the defeat of the Spanish Armada, 1588.
7. Silver medal of the Declaration of Parliament, 1642.
8. Silver medal commemorating the death of Charles I, 1648.
9. Silver medal of the Battle of Dunbar, 1650.
10. Gold naval reward medal for victories over the Dutch, 1653.
11. Gold coronation medal of Charles II, 1661.
12. Silver medal of the Battle of Lowestoft, 1665.
13. Silver medal of the Peace of Breda, 1667.
14. Silver medal commemorating the execution of the Duke of Monmouth, 1685.
15. Silver medal of the Trial of the Seven Bishops, 1688.

Set XXVI. MEDALS BY PISANELLO AND PASTI.

1–12. By Pisanello.

1. John VIII Palaeologus, Emperor of Byzantium.
2. Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, first Marquis of Mantua.
3. Niccolò Piccinino, condottiere.
4. Leonello d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara.
5. The same, reverses of two medals.
6. The same, reverse of Marriage medal.
7. Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini.
8. Ludovico III Gonzaga, second Marquis of Mantua.
9. Pier Candido Decembrio, secretary of the Milanese Republic.
10. Alfonso V, King of Naples (*reverse*, boar hunt).
11. The same (*reverse*, eagle).
12. Don Iñigo d'Avalos.

13–15. By Matteo de' Pasti.

13. Guarino of Verona, humanist.
14. Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini.
15. Isotta degli Atti, wife of Sigismondo Malatesta.